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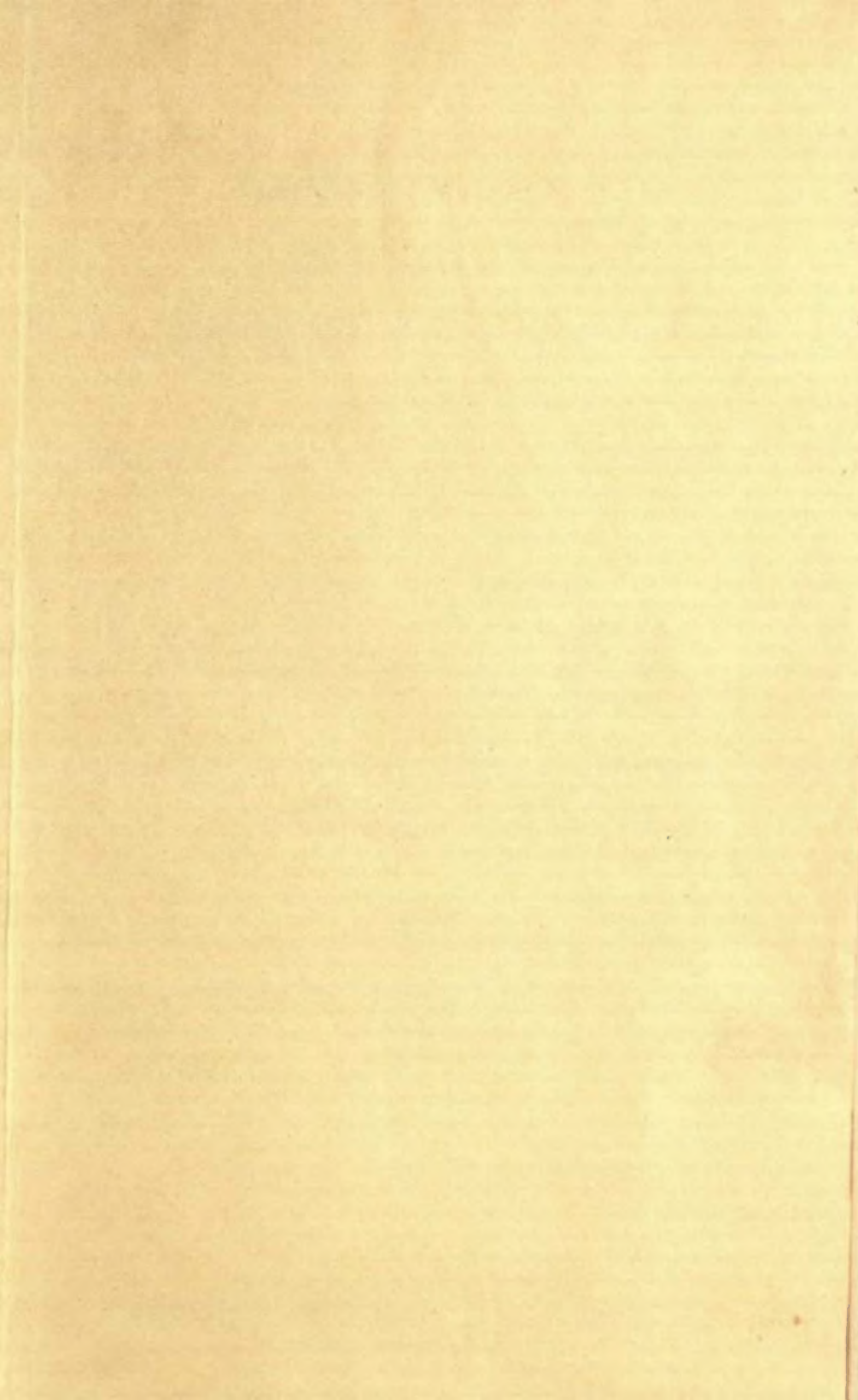
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**SPEECHES OF
PRESIDENT
RAJENDRA PRASAD**

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SPEECHES OF
PRESIDENT
RAJENDRA PRASAD

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PREFACE

This volume contains Dr. Rajendra Prasad's speeches and writings from January 1950 to May 1952, that is, from the day he was sworn in as the President of the Republic of India to the day he was elected President after the first general elections in 1952. Arranged in a chronological order, these cover a wide range of subjects and bring out Dr. Rajendra Prasad as a statesman, a scholar, a historian, an educationist, a lofty idealist, a social reformer and, above all, a great constructive thinker.

Perhaps the one subject which has claimed the largest number of speeches in this collection is education. In the various convocation addresses to Indian universities and educational institutions, Dr. Prasad has laid emphasis on the present-day requirements of the country and the people. His advice to the students breathes the spirit of the ancient seers, according to whom a perfectly harmonious relationship between the *guru* and the *sisya* was an essential condition for the imparting and receiving of knowledge. He thinks of liberal education in terms of what Cardinal Newman called "universal knowledge."

Whether the President speaks or writes on agriculture or statistics or a scientific subject like geology, he never loses sight of the historical perspective. This has sustained consistent thinking and an objective appraisal of men and matters.

With the attainment of independence, as Dr. Rajendra Prasad insists, the task of national reconstruction has become a matter of supreme urgency. It is therefore imperative that the hopes which freedom has naturally raised in men's minds are properly canalized, as potential energy, to find their proper fulfilment.

PREFACE

The history of the Republic of the United States is a story of the growth of a nation from a small colony to a great power. It is a story of the struggles of the people to secure their rights and liberties, and of the efforts of the government to maintain the Union and promote the welfare of the people. This book is a history of the Republic, written for the people of the United States, and it is hoped that it will be found interesting and useful.

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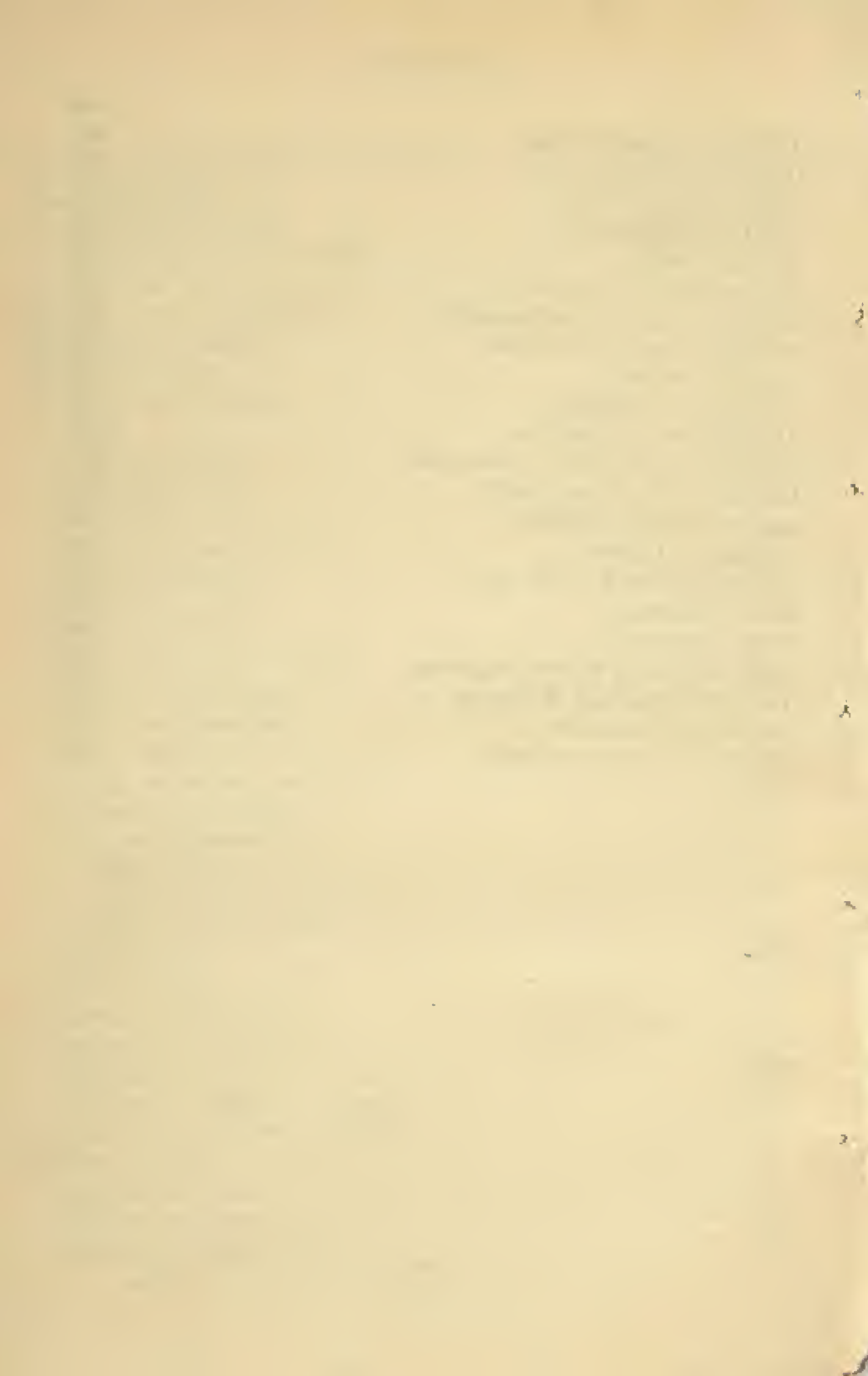
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THE TASK AHEAD

This is a memorable day in our annals. Let us begin by offering our thanks to the Almighty God who has made it possible for us to see this day; to the Father of the Nation who showed us and the world his infallible method of *Satyagraha* and led us along the path to freedom; and to the countless men and women whose suffering and sacrifice won for us our independence and made possible the establishment of the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India.

Today, for the first time in our long and chequered history, we find the whole of this vast land, from Kashmir in the north to Cape Comorin in the south, from Kathiawad and Cutch in the west to Cocanada and Kamrup in the east, brought together under the jurisdiction of one Constitution and one Union which has taken upon itself the responsibility of the welfare of more than 320 million men and women who inhabit it. Its administration will now be carried on by and for its people. This country possesses limitless natural resources and the momentous opportunity to make its vast population, happy and prosperous; and also, to make its contribution to the establishment of peace in the world.

The objective of our Republic is to secure justice, liberty and equality for its citizens and to promote fraternity among the people who inhabit its extensive territories and follow different religions, speak various languages and observe their peculiar customs. We want to live on terms of friendship with all other countries. Our object is to achieve progress for our country in every field. Our future programme includes eradication of disease, poverty and ignorance. We are anxious to rehabilitate and resettle all those displaced persons who have suffered and are still suffering great hardships and privations. Those who are handicapped in any way deserve special help. It is essential that in order to achieve this, we must safeguard the freedom that is ours today. But economic and social freedom are as urgent a demand of the times as political freedom. The present requires of us even greater devotion and sacrifice than the past. I hope and pray that we shall be able to utilise the opportunity that has been given to us. We should dedicate all our material and physical strength to the service of our country and our people. I also hope that the people, while rejoicing on the advent of this auspicious and happy day, will realise their heavy responsibility and rededicate themselves to the fulfilment of the great objective for which the Father of the Nation lived, worked and died.

English translation of the President's speech in Hindi on the occasion of the Swearing-in Ceremony in Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, on January 26, 1950.

OUR DEMOCRATIC HERITAGE

It is a great day for our country. India has had a long and chequered history ; parts of it were cloudy and parts bright and sunlit. At no period, even during the most glorious eras of which we have record, was this whole country brought under one Constitution and one rule. We have mention of many Republics in our books and our historians have been able to make out a more or less connected and co-ordinated piece out of the incidents and the places which are mentioned in these records. But these Republics were small and tiny and their shape and size was perhaps the same as that of the Greek Republics of that period. We have mention of Kings and Princes, some of whom are described as 'Chakravarty', that is, a monarch whose suzerainty was acknowledged by other Princes. During the British period, while acknowledging the suzerainty of Britain, the Indian Princes continued to carry on the administration of their territories in their own way. It is for the first time today that we have inaugurated a Constitution which extends to the whole of this country and we see the birth of a federal republic having States which have no sovereignty of their own and which are really members and parts of one federation and one administration.

His Excellency the Ambassador of the Netherlands has been pleased to refer to the relations and connections of this country with other countries both Eastern and Western. That relationship, so far as this country is concerned, has always been one of friendliness. Our ancestors carried the message of our teachers far and wide and established cultural ties which have withstood the ravages of time and still subsist while Empires have crumbled and fallen to pieces. Our ties subsist because they were not of iron and steel or even of gold but of the silken cords of the human spirit. India has had to face, on many occasions, assaults and invasions by foreigners and she has very often succumbed. But, there is not a single instance of a military invasion or aggressive war by this country against any other. It is therefore in the fitness of things and a culmination of our own cultural traditions that we have been able to win our freedom without bloodshed and in a very peaceful manner. The Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, was not a freak of nature but the physical embodiment and consummation of the progress of that spirit of non-violence which has been our great heritage. We have been able under his matchless leadership, not only to regain our lost freedom but

Reply to the speech of the Doyen of the Diplomatic Corps at the Banquet in Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, on January 26, 1950.

also to establish and strengthen the bonds of friendship with those—and our thanks are due to them for it—against whose policy we have fought and won.

Our Constitution is a democratic instrument seeking to ensure to the individual citizens the freedoms which are so invaluable. India has never prescribed or prosecuted opinion and faith and our philosophy has room as much for a devotee of a personal god, as for an agnostic or an atheist. We shall, therefore, be only implementing in practice under our Constitution what we have inherited from our traditions, namely, freedom of opinion and expression. Under the new set-up, which we are inaugurating today, we hope to live up to the teachings of our Master and help in our own humble way in the establishment of peace in the world. Our attitude towards all countries is one of utmost friendliness. We have no designs against any one, no ambition to dominate others. Our hope is that others also will have no designs against us. We have had bitter experience of aggression by other countries in the past and can only express the hope that it may not be necessary for us to take any measures even in self-defence.

I know the world today is passing through a most uncertain and anxious period. Two world wars within one generation, with all their devastation and aftermath of suffering and sorrow, have not been able to convince it that a war can never bring about the end of wars. It is, therefore, necessary to seek the end of wars in positive acts of goodness towards all and the world must learn to utilise all its resources for productive and beneficial purposes and not for destruction. We do venture to think that this country may have a part to play in establishing this goodwill and atmosphere of confidence and co-operation. We have inherited no old enmities. Our Republic enters the world stage, therefore, free from pride and prejudice, humbly believing and striving that in international as well as internal affairs our statesmen may be guided by the teachings of the Father of our Nation—tolerance, understanding, non-violence and resistance to aggression.

It is in such a country and at such a time that it has pleased the representatives of our people to call me to this high office. You can easily understand my nervousness which arises not only from the tremendousness of the task with which our newly won freedom is confronted but also from a consciousness that I succeed in this sphere of activity, though not in office, one who has played such a conspicuous part not only during the period of strife and struggle but also during the period of constructive activity and active administration. You know Sri Chakravarty

Rajagopalachari and have experience of his incisive intellect, great learning, practical wisdom and sweetness of manners. It has been my privilege to have been associated with him for more than 30 years and although we might have had occasional differences of opinion on some vital matters but never have our personal relations suffered any setback and I feel sure that I shall continue to enjoy the benefit of his protective advice in whatever crises I may have to face. My nervousness and anxiety are to no small extent countered by a consciousness that I shall be the recipient of fullest confidence from our Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Minister, the Members of the Cabinet and the Legislature and from the people at large. I shall endeavour my best to earn and deserve that confidence. Let me also hope that this country will be able to win the confidence of other nations and secure such assistance as it may require in times of need. I have great pleasure in responding to the toast which has been proposed.

THE REFORM IN UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

It is a matter of deep satisfaction to me and I am grateful that I have been given the opportunity of inaugurating this conference of Vice-Chancellors and other representatives of Universities not only of India, but also of two neighbouring countries—Ceylon and Burma. The first conference was held in May 1924 and the Inter-Universities Board which was established as a result has been meeting every year since then to discuss questions of common interest to the universities and to take such action as was considered necessary and desirable in the interests of university education. We have recently had a Commission appointed by the Government of India to go into the question of University education. It had among its members distinguished educationists not only from India but also from England and America, and was presided over by Dr. Radhakrishnan. The Commission has submitted a very valuable report containing a review of the achievements of our University education and also suggestions and recommendations which are of a far-reaching character. We are now a free country with a republican constitution which requires men and women with the requisite qualifications to make democracy a success in this country. We have had many republics in this country, but they were very small as compared to the Republic which we have just established. The responsibility of the people has correspondingly grown in size and intensity and it is for our educational institutions to fit the citizens for the great task that awaits them. A constitution by itself cannot achieve much; a certain standard of intelligence, public spirit and devotion to national interests are also necessary. It is the function of educational institutions to create the atmosphere in which these qualities may be developed and to impart to the individuals coming under their influence, the necessary qualifications. The value of the University Commission Report lies, very largely, in the fact that it recognizes the necessity for a fundamental change in the set-up of things in this country and proceeds to deal with its educational problems on that basis. It has therefore had to recommend many revolutionary changes. It has, further, the merit of not contemplating a complete break with the past but of conserving the best that is available. I have no doubt that you, as representatives of our Universities and custodians of our modern educational traditions and aspirations, will give your thought to its recommendations and suggestions.

Speech made while inaugurating the Silver Jubilee session of the Inter-University Board at Banaras, on February 28, 1950.

You will permit me to indicate just a few points, out of the many, that arise in the report for your special consideration. Although our Universities have been in existence for nearly a century, the increase in their numbers during the last forty years has been great and during the last few years it has been almost phenomenal. There is also a marked tendency to create more and still more Universities. This shows the interest which people, at large, have developed in higher education. The addition to the number of high schools during the last fifty years has been tremendous and the demand for colleges to enable students passing out of high schools to go up for higher education, was only to be expected. With the number of schools and colleges coming up, the number of Universities was bound to multiply. I am happy that this should be so. At the same time I have a feeling that in a matter like this, mere multiplication does not necessarily imply a proportionate improvement in our mental and intellectual equipment. I should not be misunderstood if I confess to a sense of disappointment at, what my limited experience tells me, a certain deterioration in the standard of intellectual equipment of the alumni of these institutions. But apart from this feeling which may or may not be shared by those more intimately connected with our institutions, I feel that the time has come when a certain reorientation of our whole scheme of education has to be considered and attempted. It is because the University Commission Report takes us in that direction that I attach so much value to it.

There are a few fundamental questions which have to be answered. Take for example the question of the medium of instruction. Whatever the reasons, we have had, for a fairly long time, a foreign language as our medium of instruction. I started my schooling with the English alphabet, and although since then some changes have been made, I do not know if it can be said even today that the mother tongue of the child is the medium of instruction. The utmost that can be said is that in the primary stages the change-over is in the process of being accomplished. When we come to the secondary stage, we find an attempt being made in many places to replace English by Indian languages as the medium of instruction and examination. I cannot however say that it has been achieved. At the University stage the process has hardly commenced. It is, I believe, universally accepted by all informed authoritative opinion on the subject, that education in order to be effective, complete and economical both as regards time and cost, must be given through the language of the people. The only problem now is one of practical application of this universally accepted principle to the conditions prevailing in this country. The Commission has suggested a solution which

I consider to be a compromise. Personally, taking every thing into consideration, I should not hesitate to accept it whole-heartedly provided it can be implemented without reservation and without delay.

Examinations have, so far, dominated our educational system. It could not be otherwise in view of the circumstances in which our educational institutions have grown and the role that was assigned to the Universities for nearly fifty years in the beginning. The Universities were only affiliating institutions which were not responsible for teaching but contented themselves with certifying that a student had attained a certain degree of proficiency. The institutions, which prepared students for the tests laid down by the University, had naturally to ensure that the object with which the students came to them, namely, success at the tests, was served. The students too had no option but to look to the certificates more than anything else, as their prospects and careers depended almost wholly on these certificates. Therefore, examinations naturally became the main consideration both for the teacher and the student, on the one hand, and the affiliated institution and the University, on the other. It is a significant commentary on this system that even today the bulk of the revenue of many of the Universities, which are affiliating institutions, comes from the fees paid by examinees for the privilege of appearing at their examinations. Even though during the last quarter of a century or more, teaching institutions, under the designation of Universities, have come into existence, they too have not been able to shake off the incubus of these examinations. This is but a natural result of the set-up that we have had in this country under which educated people could only look to a limited class of jobs or to certain professions. Entry into these careers depended considerably on the results of examinations. It is, therefore, worth considering how and to what extent young people need to be relieved from this burden so that they may give more attention and time to the acquisition of real knowledge as distinct from the mere collection of information which is necessary for passing examinations. Unless and until there is a change in their attitude, I feel it will not be possible for us to look to any great achievements in the field of original work by the alumni of our Universities. We have, undoubtedly, had many brilliant individuals who have achieved distinction and all credit is due to them. But their numbers are not sufficient to change the character of the country as a whole.

We used to have a very close and intimate relationship between the teacher and the taught in the ancient traditional system of Gurukul. Although it cannot be claimed that it had retained its pristine purity or

authority, it continued to exist in the *pathshalas* and the *makhtabs* till the advent of the British system of education. The modern system of education has gradually gone further and further away from that ideal, and today in our schools and colleges, there is hardly any personal relationship between the teacher and the taught, beyond that of employer and employee. The pupil pays for the services of the tutor and the tutor performs the task for stated periods in the day. There may be exceptions, but I hope I am not exaggerating the actual position when I say this. I have a feeling that much of what you hear about indiscipline among students is but a natural consequence of the present state of things. Discipline, after all, is not always enforced but has to grow from within and for that purpose it requires the existence of certain natural conditions. Those conditions are wanting and we cannot expect any better results.

I feel, that the mental, moral and spiritual make-up of a student is, in the long run, of far greater importance and value than mere intellectual achievement. I am glad the University Commission has also given thought to the question of building character as an integral part of our educational system.

One question to which I attach the greatest importance and to which the Commission has devoted much thought and space in its report, is that of having a new type of University which it calls "Rural University". When Mahatma Gandhi placed his scheme of basic education before the country, it was regarded by some as a revolutionary scheme but it received the general approval of many distinguished educationists. Like the other things which he took up, Gandhiji was very earnest about it and under his inspiration many of the Provincial Governments started experiments. It was my privilege to be associated in a general way with the experiment that was conducted in the Province of Bihar. It was an experiment on a small scale but fortunately it was allowed to be completed. This was not the case in many other Provinces. In spite of handicaps, which it had to face, it is the opinion of competent authorities that it has proved fairly successful and has opened new vistas to educationists in Bihar. I understand that, depending on the number of suitable and competent teachers available, the experiment is going to be expanded on a large scale. I believe expansion is limited only by the time that is taken in training and preparing the various grades of teachers for the purpose. The scheme of rural universities, as has been pointed out by the authors of the report, is only an extension of that scheme with certain modifications. I feel that in recommending the expansion of education in that

direction, the Commission has done the greatest service to the country in its present set-up. It is now for specialists, experts, the State Governments and the Central Government to work out the practical details and implement its recommendations. I have no doubt that it is likely to revolutionise the whole outlook of the people and to change for the better the face of the countryside. A young man belonging to a village, after passing the matriculation examination, tries to secure a job of a few rupees in a city office, where he would probably have to spend more than he earned, or, at any rate, he would find it difficult to make both ends meet. It is often much better for him to introduce improvements in agricultural practices and to live a healthier life in his village surroundings. But the so-called educated youth of today cannot do that. He cannot, now that he is educated, work like his father in the field. I am often haunted by the questions: Is our education really intended to make our people dependent on others? Should it not make them more self-reliant, better equipped to face the struggle of life and to serve not only themselves and their families, but also the country at large? The existing system has succeeded in drawing away from the villages all those who have had the benefit of education. The Commission has looked into this problem with much care and anxiety. It has come to the conclusion that the way out of this morass may be found through rural universities, as has been done in the Scandinavian countries. I ask you all to consider this proposal. I hope you will not consider me presumptuous in drawing your attention to some of the points which have appealed to me. I have felt that your Board is particularly fitted to take a comprehensive view of such questions and I have therefore taken the liberty of drawing your attention to them.

I thank you for enabling me to participate in this Conference, and have much pleasure in inaugurating it.

FROM DARKNESS TO LIGHT

Your University has a special place among Indian Universities. This is quite appropriate, situated as it is in the holiest of our cities, Banaras, which has all along been a prominent centre of Indian culture and learning. It is in Kashi that the Ganga, descending from Gangotri and meandering through many towns and hamlets of Uttar Pradesh, attains its special significance and sanctity. Indeed, the Ganga around Kashi presents a beautiful sight. It was here on its banks that Saint Tulsidas composed his great Hindi epic, Ramayana, which continues to inspire the daily life of the common man in the North to this day. Many other seers and saints have also realised and sung of Divinity on its banks at Kashi. It is our good luck that Kashi retains its importance and glory as an educational centre even today. Kashi has been, so to say, the nerve centre of our cultural life, where through centuries, seekers of knowledge and wisdom have flocked from far off places within and from outside India. The Hindu, in the simplicity of his faith, deems it a religious duty to have a dip in the Ganga here and pay homage to Lord Vishwanath who, in our mythology, is endowed with the custodianship of this sacred city. And for you, men and women of this University, all these advantages are near at hand.

Your University is rightly famous, not because of its huge dimensions and big buildings, but due to its association with the sacred memory of the late Malaviyaji, whose living embodiment it is. Malaviyaji has left a beautiful legacy of simplicity, purity and one-pointed devotion to Saraswati, the goddess of learning. He was prompted in starting this University by the noble desire to bring out such scholars as would be embodiments of Indian culture and win for India her ancient place of honour in the comity of nations. Our British rulers also set up many Universities, but their main idea was to produce young men and women, Anglicised in their outlook and mode of life and Indian only in name and colour. I am afraid, Malaviyaji's laudable objective has not yet been fully achieved.

Today, India is a Sovereign Independent Republic with a new Constitution. The framers of our Constitution have shown commendable skill and liberality in seeking solutions of our complicated socio-political problems. For the first time, perhaps, in our history every adult has been given the right to choose our rulers. Our Constitution guarantees perfect

Convocation Address at the Banaras Hindu University on February 28, 1950.

equality to all who inhabit this vast land, irrespective of caste, creed, sex or economic position. Our main aim and desire is to equalise advantage and opportunity. I am sorry to say that the distinction of high and low has taken such deep roots in our society that some of us were rather hesitant in taking this bold step. What is more tragic, these invidious distinctions came to have a religious sanction and sanctity behind them. We have now to make a clean sweep of such superstitions.

Our Constitution gives a high place to education of the people, and rightly so in a country where the darkness of ignorance has persisted for centuries. It is time that we dispelled ignorance and illiteracy from our land. This great work enhances the responsibilities of an institution like yours. It is for the University men and women to take the torch of knowledge to every village and brighten every home with its light, so that our villager imbibes the modern outlook. It is a pity that very many of us forget the villages in the glamour of cities. But cities owe their life and prosperity to villages. So, it becomes our honoured duty to pay back our debt to the villager.

Our Constitution recognises Hindi as the State language. Now that we are free, we have to make an Indian language take the place of English. The language should be such as can acquire common currency with our people in all parts of the country, and also serve the high purpose it is intended for. Our choice fell on Hindi, because it almost fulfilled these conditions. Hindi, as you all know, is the most widely spoken, read and understood language of our country today. But alas, so far, Hindi had been ignored and in a way disgraced even in those regions which are its own.

Our freedom throws on us a heavy responsibility for the manifold development of our national life. We have to make a great leeway in our cultural progress. Our literature, let us admit, needs development. We have to produce scientific, educational and commercial literature in Hindi. So far, we had been depending on English. We cannot do so now. We have to enrich our vocabulary and here, let me humbly suggest, we should not approach this task from a narrow outlook but be broad-minded enough to absorb words and terms even from foreign sources. The hallmark of a living language is that it can assimilate foreign words and give them its own stamp. I am not suggesting that we should borrow so freely that our language gets changed beyond recognition. Here also I remind our young educated friends of their onerous obligation.

So far, for understandable reasons, our educated youth have been attracted mainly towards the services. A change in their outlook is now imperative. Evidently, it is not possible to provide a job for every graduate that our Universities turn out. The aim of a University is not to produce men and women fit for the services only. The primary purpose of a University is to equip the mind of a young scholar so that he can play his part in the great national battle against our three enemies—poverty, ignorance, and illiteracy. Our country is potentially rich, but it needs properly educated and trained men to develop her resources. This is not the responsibility, solely of the Government. In free India, the task of national development is as much a duty of every citizen as of the Government.

We should remember that we got our freedom, not through military strength, but by the collective sacrifice and efforts of our people. The freedom that has been won by the people has to be maintained and enriched by the people themselves. Our Republic will not flourish unless and until every citizen feels vitally concerned about our freedom, progress and prosperity. 'It matters not who rules us', is an old saying prevalent in India. This represents an outlook most dangerous for the growth of the republican idea amongst our people.

Our educated classes have to play a vital role in expanding and enriching the contents of our freedom. It is they who have to enthuse the masses with the new ideals of free India. Without their active and whole-hearted co-operation, our freedom will remain empty and bereft of life.

May this University succeed in materialising the dream of its great founder.

HINDI—THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE

During the last forty or fifty years Hindi literature has made extraordinary progress. It has made rapid strides in the realms of philosophy, science and literature. I do not claim to be sufficiently acquainted with this ever-growing literature to be able to review its progress. I would be content to draw your attention to certain dangers that threaten the well-being of Hindi. I would also like to suggest certain directions in which the Hindi language and literature should shape their course.

The number of Hindi publications—books, newspapers and journals—has been steadily increasing and from the point of view of printing, get-up and lay-out, many of these publications are attractive. It appears to me that more than any other Indian language, Hindi is spoken by the largest number of people and, therefore, its publications command the widest sale and circulation. With the acceptance of Hindi as India's State language, it may be presumed that the number of Hindi books and journals will continue to increase.

As Hindi acquires a footing in non-Hindi-speaking States, its publications will be compared with those in the regional languages. Whether it is a daily newspaper with its racy style or a volume, sober and solemn, it is bound to be compared with its counterpart in the regional language. In any language, great poetry or prose are not created every day, for, greatness is an attribute of a natural inborn genius and not the result of painstaking labour. But besides genius, good writing needs other qualities which, at least, can be acquired. They can be acquired through an effort and therefore no one need be discouraged by imagining that his language lacks the touch of genius. Perseverance and hard work would, to a large extent, make up for any deficiency, even if it exists. I would like all lovers of Hindi to realise their responsibility. While the Constituent Assembly was discussing the language question, several members from non-Hindi-speaking States had declared that they were accepting Hindi as the State language not because it was better developed than all the other languages of India, nor because its literature is richer than that of the other Indian languages, but because Hindi is, compared to the other languages, spoken and understood by a larger number of people. There were several members who were willing to accept Hindi as the State language and not as the national language. For them their

Speech at the presentation of the Abhinandan Granth at Arrah Nagri Pracharini Sabha on March 3, 1950.

own regional mother-tongue was the best of all languages; its literature was not the less rich and, therefore, as far as they were concerned, it might well be the national language. However, Hindi, only because it is the largest language group, was accepted as the language of the Centre. This constitutes a challenge to the Hindi-speaking people who have now to prove that Hindi deserves the honour which the makers of our Constitution have given to it. Every Hindi writer, journalist, literateur and publisher must fully understand this responsibility.

The first thing we need to do is to develop the vocabulary of Hindi as much as possible. In the adoption of new words, we must not show any hesitation or narrow considerations. In Hindi we find not only Sanskrit words, but also words derived from foreign languages which have their origin in Arabic, Persian, Portuguese, English, Latin, French, Spanish and Dutch, etc. As a result of its contact with other languages, Hindi took a few words from them all: a sure sign of the dynamic nature of language. This has only added to the richness of Hindi and thus, instead of giving up this practice, we should absorb words of foreign origin by giving them an indigenous form. I do not believe that Hindi will benefit by refusing to use words of foreign origin which we have already assimilated in Hindi, nor do I think it to be wise to refuse to absorb such non-Hindi words as can be absorbed by the language. I believe that once we have built up a large store of synonyms, very subtle distinctions would be born in their interpretation and when thought demands precision of expression, it would be possible to select the word which is the most accurate. The greater the process of selection, the greater the precision and the higher the evolution of language. I would like Hindi to absorb words from other languages, specially our own regional languages. In the countryside where Hindi is used, there is a wealth of beautiful and expressive words. We need not reject them as crude rural speech because there is no point in our refusal to retain words which have the merit of practice and tradition behind them.

Besides, there are several interesting, easy and meaningful idioms of which at least a few can be successfully taken over from one language by another, specially if the two languages have a common origin or have been in close contact with each other. I am sure that in the regional languages, there are many such idioms and usages which have either already been, or which can be accepted by Hindi. The utility of such borrowings would be established when there is closer contact between Hindi and the other languages.

Every language has its own style and rules of grammar, but, a closer association with another language does, inevitably, bring about changes in its structure. Though some changes are made consciously, it is usually difficult to explain the reason behind unconscious linguistic modifications. A close exchange between Hindi and the other languages would, therefore, make these changes appear natural and inevitable.

The vocabulary, idiom, style and grammar of a language cannot be altered arbitrarily by the dictates of an institution or an academy. No language, if it is a living organism, can grow or change its course under pressure of external direction : all change is the outcome of association. Therefore, a language should be allowed to evolve without any hindrance. Such a course is not only natural but also inevitable for Hindi which has now become our State language. If Hindi-speaking people are not liberal and imagine such changes to be against the purity and sanctity of their language, either our efforts would end in failure or the status of Hindi would be reduced to that of a regional language. At present, there is a spirit of healthy rivalry between Hindi and the regional languages. Hindi will succeed in maintaining its position as the national language only if it is sufficiently liberal and elastic enough to accept and recognise the regional languages.

Everyone who knows Hindi should get acquainted with at least one regional Indian language, and thereby widen his contact with provinces other than his own. He should be able to place Hindi publications beside those in the other languages and discover for himself, where Hindi fares well or needs improvement. For those who wish to take to creative writing, knowledge of the regional languages is more or less compulsory, because without it their work will never have the universality which is essential for good literature. Knowing that in the interest of national unity, the non-Hindi-speaking people have accepted the self-imposed task of learning Hindi, cannot we, who know Hindi, take the trouble of at least acquainting ourselves with the thoughts expressed in the regional languages ?

There is another reason why we should acquire a knowledge of regional languages. Hindi has to be taught to the people of non-Hindi-speaking States, and in the beginning, a great part of the task would have to be conducted by the Hindi-speaking people. Unless they acquire at least a working knowledge of the regional language, they will find it difficult to teach Hindi. If, as laid down in our Constitution, Hindi has to replace English within the stipulated period of 15 years, those who

know Hindi have the responsibility of learning other languages and thus helping to accomplish this task.

In order to enrich Hindi literature and make it worthy of our State language, it is imperative that literature, original and enduring, should be created. I have not used the word literature in the restricted sense of the term, but in its wider and universal aspect by which I understand creative writing regardless of the subject matter. By this I mean one's original inquiry and research, whether pertaining to science, geography, meteorology, history, archaeology, mathematics, geometry, prose or poetry, which we ordinarily call literature; all these and other original works constitute our concept of literature. And so, when I refer to the enrichment of Hindi, I imply an enrichment of this nature. It is, therefore, necessary that those who know Hindi should train themselves to write original and independent treatises on these subjects. This task would require thousands of scholars and research workers who, forgetting all other considerations, would, with a singleness of aim, devote themselves to the task of presenting an original treatise on any one particular subject of research. It would call for great perseverance and if our young men attended to this work, we would, undoubtedly, see its results during the next fifteen years.

Besides original work, there is also great scope for translation; literature is created and published in the regional languages and important works whether they are old or new, should be translated into Hindi. The responsibility of translating not only from the regional languages but also from foreign languages, rests mainly on those who know Hindi. This is possible only when Hindi scholars know a foreign language to the extent of being able not only to enjoy the beauty of a great work themselves, but also, having the ability to transmute something of its beauty and power into their translation. Translation of more serious subjects requires special skill because the translator should not only know the two languages concerned, but also have a mastery over the subject which he wishes to translate. Therefore, merely a superficial knowledge of the two languages is not sufficient for a translation; it is essential that the translator should be well acquainted, not only with the subject matter, but also, the material that is available in his own language, Hindi.

However, I am afraid that an increased Hindi readership would mean an increase in the number of publications some of which are cheap and vulgar literature. Hindi writers and publishers should guard against this tendency and dissociate themselves from it. It is not easy to resist the

temptation of easy money but I believe that if the leading Hindi literateurs and critics turn their attention to this question, they will be able to put a stop to the production of cheap literature.

There are about five million aboriginals living in Bihar. It is necessary to know more about their way of life and their language in order to establish a closer contact with them, not with the aim of exploiting them but of serving them. They may be backward people but there is a great deal that we could learn from them. Therefore, in order to work for their welfare and learn from them the lessons of honesty, simplicity and tribal unity, we must not only learn their languages but teach them Hindi so that they may also participate in the service of the nation.

THE GURUKUL TRADITION

It was about 25 years ago that I came here with Gandhiji to attend your Convocation. You are well aware of the changes that have taken place in our country during the interim period. We were then fighting our non-violent battle for freedom with the British. Today, we are free and with the departure of the British, we alone are responsible for our welfare. All the problems, therefore, which confront us now, will have to be solved by us. The welfare of the country depends on the successful solution of these problem.

The country needs honest, intelligent, and self-sacrificing workers. Our new Constitution gives to every individual, over 21, the right to elect his representative in the Government. Provincial and Central administration will be conducted according to the decisions of these elected representatives. Besides, there will be a large number of State officials who will discharge their administrative duties according to the policies of the Government. Whether as elected representatives or as appointed officials, honest and competent public servants will be needed for every kind of job ; teachers to promote rural literacy ; scholars to impart higher education and to conduct independent research work ; and well-qualified doctors dedicated to the eradication of disease from our land. We also need people with vision and a will to strive for the economic prosperity of the people. Indeed, the country needs people in every walk of life. It is the function of our Universities and other allied educational institutions to prepare such men and women.

Your institution, based on the ancient system of education, is a new experiment. Fifty years ago, when the entire country had come under the sway of the British and the English language was the accepted medium of instruction in schools and colleges, your founder, Swami Shraddhanandji had the foresight to adopt Hindi as the medium for higher studies in his institution. This bold experiment, conducted over the last 50 years, has proved that Hindi is an effective medium for higher education and that the students taught in Hindi are, in no way, inferior to those taught in English.

The fact is that the strain of learning a foreign language is so great that it retards the full intellectual development of an individual. In view

Convocation address at the Gurukul Kangri University at Kangri (Hardwar) on March 5, 1950.

of this, you started your experiment at a time when assistance or encouragement from the Government was out of question. The graduates of this University, even though well qualified, could never find employment in a Government office. But your sponsors have continued to render unflinching service to the people. Hindi has now been accepted as our common language and educationists have agreed that our own mother tongue and not a foreign language, ought to be our medium of instruction. In this direction, modifications in our system of education have already taken place. It is hoped that, before long, all the educational institutions in the country will adopt Hindi as the teaching medium and that all the affairs of the State would be conducted in Hindi. Your sense of satisfaction is natural and your founder deserves praise for his vision.

Another contribution which you have made is the revival of the ancient tradition of Gurukul—a tradition which has significance because of its emphasis on a close relationship between the teacher and the taught. Under this system, the pupil comes to think of his teacher as a father and the teacher regards his student as his son. This close bond of affection and reverence helps to mould the character of the student. This sense of kinship is entirely lacking in the modern system of education, with the result that there is hardly any personal contact between a teacher and his student. In the colleges, the only contact that exists between the two is as impersonal as that of the audience with a speaker in a public meeting. Probably, this explains the class of "lecturers" for they are concerned only with the job of lecturing. There are many students from large colleges whose names are not even known to their teachers and who, inspite of having been taught a term or two by them, have never had the chance of talking to them. It is clear that in a set-up like this, a teacher could hardly influence the character of his students. It is not surprising, therefore, if the teachers fail to enforce discipline and there is opposition between the two. In the old system, it was possible for a student to respect his teacher even if he had acquired more learning and ability than the latter. Though the student might grant that he had become more learned than his teacher, he could never forget the obligation that he owed to his teacher for his early education.

Today, human relationships in our educational institutions have become mechanical and commercial ; the student feels that the teacher has to teach him in return for the fees which he pays to the institution. The teacher is likewise, prompted by no other motive than of lecturing for the salary he gets. He seldom looks upon his profession as a vocation, and

has no living interest in his pupils. This explains the lack of discipline, waywardness and disorderly behaviour, so much in evidence these days. Man, as you know, is at once a product of nature and of environment, and it would appear that environment is more important than the former. The absence of a personal relationship between the teacher and the student is a serious defect in our system of education. Your institution has sought to remove it by reviving the old tradition.

Religion, or spiritual outlook, is important in moulding the life of a student. By religious outlook I do not mean dogmatism, ritualism or fanaticism, or even blind faith, but something by which character is continually affected. Therefore, the stress which you lay on a religious outlook is very desirable. It should be the aim of our educational institutions to produce healthy, earnest and principled men and women who will prove themselves worthy in the service of the nation.

Knowledge does not mean facts which are learnt by rote for the purpose of answering examination papers. A genuine pursuit of knowledge creates, in the heart of the learner, an undying passion to widen the horizons of his knowledge. This is impossible in educational institutions which aim merely at success in examinations.

People seem to believe that character develops on its own, without any effort on our part. As a result of this indifference to the development of character, people acquire desirable or undesirable traits, according to the environment to which they are exposed. There is, therefore, no doubt that if our educational institutions, make a spirited effort to develop the personalities of their students they are bound to show good results. They should do it not so much by word of mouth or monotonous sermonising, but more by encouraging collective activities like sports, games and social work.

I find that students today constitute a large part of the cinema-audience and that the cinema, depending on the kind of film being shown, has a healthy or unhealthy influence on the human mind. I do not know how many of the films that our college boys see in the cities are good for them. If the cinema as a recreation is considered to be necessary, then educational institutions ought to arrange for their own film shows where selected films are shown. Students should be prohibited from going to the cinema houses in the city where stories of crime, passion and gangsterism, lacking any moral purpose, are screened. It is too much to hope that these cinema houses will exhibit only clean and purposeful films because bad films would be there so long as the audience enjoys and

demands them. It would be difficult to put a stop to these undesirable entertainments. I have made this necessary digression because I feel that no educational institution can consider itself adequate if it fails to provide opportunities for the physical, intellectual, and above all, moral development of its students.

The Gurukul was established when India was being governed by a foreign power and this led to several incompatibilities between the objectives of the two. It was hardly possible or even desirable for such institutions to have compromised with the Government. But now the situation has completely changed and there is no reason why these high ideals should not be in keeping with the Constitutional Government of our country. It is my fervent hope that institutions which were previously concerned with propagating Indian ideals be speedily amalgamated with other educational institutions sponsored by the Government to bridge the age-old gulf between Hindi and English teaching universities. All our universities could, with a common aim, help in training public servants who would, by solving our many problems, lead the country to prosperity.

THE NEED FOR TOLERANCE

This is the first time since I assumed office that I am speaking to you through the radio. I am doing so with a heavy heart. I cannot find words to say how grieved I am at the events which have recently happened. I know the terrible sufferings which all those who have had to migrate in their hundreds of thousands leaving their hearth and home are undergoing. Our Government is trying its best to render as much relief as is possible. But the question is not one of relief alone. It goes very much deeper and has to be tackled in such a way as to make such relief unnecessary. India and Pakistan are neighbours and it is in the interest of both that friendly relations should be maintained and nothing should be done on either side of the border to inflame passions and create excitement. I am not less grieved, therefore, by the frenzy which has overtaken some of our people and which has been responsible for barbarous and unpardonable acts. Yesterday, I issued a press statement appealing to all the citizens of this great country to co-operate with the Government in enforcing respect for life and property. It is the essence of civilised government that no individual should be allowed to take the law into his own hands. It is equally the duty of every civilised government to protect the life and property of all individuals within its territories, irrespective of their race or religion. I share, in the fullest measure, the sense of shame and sorrow at the recent happenings in West Bengal to which the Prime Minister gave expression in his statement in Parliament this morning.

You have all heard that the Prime Minister of Pakistan has accepted the invitation of our Prime Minister to come to Delhi with some of his colleagues for personal discussions. I hope and trust that the talks which are going to commence on the 2nd of April will prove fruitful. I do not wish to say one word which might add to the difficulties of the situation. I ask you, with all the emphasis at my command, not to do or say anything which might have the effect of poisoning the atmosphere. Restraint and tolerance are always indispensable for social order but much more so at the present critical juncture. Let no one imagine that the Prime Minister and his colleagues are not fully aware of the situation. They are conscious of the implications of the problems facing them and are determined to do all in their power to restore normal conditions. The people can best help the Government by allowing it a free hand to

Broadcast to the people on Wednesday, March 29, 1950.

deal with the situation in the way it considers best and not embarrassing it by lawless activities. We can insist upon the right being done if we do the right ourselves. Even a small blot on a white sheet mars its purity. I appeal to you, therefore, with all earnestness, to have full faith in your Government and to let it handle the situation unhampered. I assure you that the Government will not shirk its duty in this crisis. It is with the object of making to you this brief but sincere appeal that I have taken the opportunity of speaking to you this evening.

THE CO-OPERATIVE METHOD

The co-operative movement in India has been in existence for about fifty years or so. Although it has been able to make some progress, during the major part of its existence, the co-operative movement was confined mostly to credit and loans, with the result that in many areas, people dissociated themselves from it. It is, however, a great mistake to confine the co-operative movement merely to one field of activity. It is true that provision of credit facilities is, by itself, quite an important function. But far more important than that is the transformation of the present pattern of our society through its agency. This can happen only when the movement covers many different activities. This exhibition has immense value, because instead of the monetary aspect of this movement, one gathers a fine impression of the manifold work being done by co-operative societies.

Your Secretary, in her report, said that out of the total textile output in this country, about twenty-five per cent is produced by the village handloom industry. Because of my personal association with spinning and weaving with hand, I can say with confidence that it has great scope for improvement. It is remarkable that the skill which our workmen possess is not derived from any technical schools, nor has the government or any other public body sponsored their technical education. Their professional skill is hereditary and the exhibits that you see here—Kashmir shawls, the fine Banaras *Kimkhab*, the beautiful products of Surat, Punjab and Rajputana—are all products of their labour and skill. The workmen have created them by traditional skill which they have learnt with ease. All these articles are now being manufactured through the different co-operatives and I am sure that this industry has a bright future.

I believe that the co-operative method can show results better than any other method. It is, no doubt, true that every venture attracts a few people who prove detrimental to its interests. Those who work for the co-operatives and make monetary gain their sole objective, exploit the poor workers by paying them less than their due and make huge profits for themselves. Let alone any encouragement, the workers do not even get an adequate return for their labour. As a result of this exploitation, they gradually drift away from the industry and after a time, the skill dies out.

Speech delivered at the All-India Co-operative Exhibition in New Delhi on April 2, 1950.



With Dr. Soekarno of Indonesia (left) and the Netherlands' Ambassador at a banquet held in Rashtrapati Bhavan on January 26, 1950



Addressing the Convocation of the Gurukul Kangri University on March 5, 1950

At the All-India Co-operative Exhibition in New Delhi on April 2, 1950





Replying to the address presented by the Bombay Corporation on April 5, 1950

Conferring an honorary degree on Sir Maurice Gwyer at a Special Convocation of Delhi University on April 16, 1950





Addressing naval officers on board I.N.S. 'Delhi' in Bombay harbour on April 5, 1950

But, I am sure that through the co-operative method this traditional skill would be kept alive.

I understand that, in Faridabad, a new form of co-operative system is being followed by making it applicable to all the different kinds of work that is being done there. For example, the work of housing and construction requires materials which would be manufactured by the refugees on a co-operative basis. You will see, in this Exhibition, some bricks which have been thus manufactured. Besides bricks, there are other materials the manufacture of which would provide employment to people. It is proposed to manufacture all these different articles on a co-operative basis. I have no doubt that this would benefit the country, because it is a part of the handicraft industry which we wish to revive and popularise, both in India and abroad. I believe that the co-operative movement will make this possible.

It seems to me that limiting the scope of the co-operative movement only to a revival of the handicraft industry, would be a mistake. On the contrary, it would be desirable to extend it to agriculture because our agriculture cannot progress without the assistance of the co-operative method. I am certain that if agriculture is given the basis of collective farming, our farmers cannot fail to benefit from it. In our country, the land holdings are very small and the peasants have neither the money nor the time to purchase high quality seeds to improve their agricultural yield, or to otherwise increase their production. Therefore, they continue to use the old plough and the antiquated methods of farming which result in poor harvests. The peasants know and appreciate the methods which, if adopted, would yield a better harvest and increased profits, but these methods are not available to them. However, if these are provided through the co-operative societies, they would be able to adopt them. The farmers would then collectively cultivate, sow and harvest their fields. Besides better crops, it will reduce expenses and increase profits. I have not had the opportunity to see collective farming in any village here. But in a village in the Saran District of Bihar, where such a system is being put in practice, the villagers do not need to buy anything from outside their village. Everything that they need for their farming is obtained from the village itself. This collective farming, in which about 20 peasants are participating, has led to an increase in their crops and a reduction in their expenses. Each one of them gets more than what he used to get previously and their total income has now increased about one and a half times. They have realised the benefits of this system. If the peasants are provided with seeds, manure, steel and implements

by the co-operative societies, I do not see any reason why they should not be able to improve their lot.

It would further benefit the farmer, if, besides helping in production, the co-operative societies could assist in the marketing of the farmer's produce. Proper arrangements should be made to store the produce awaiting a profitable selling time. Thus the peasant will be able to earn much more than what he is able to earn today. It would also be profitable to apply the co-operative system to the larger farms as well. I am convinced that the welfare of the country lies in the adoption of the co-operative system. It is with this view that this Exhibition is being held and the Government should extend its support to it. But more than this, the system should receive popular support and such aid from the Government as is necessary.

COMMUNAL MADNESS

I took the permission of the Mayor and the audience here to address a few words in Hindi. For the benefit of those who have not followed it, I would like, more or less, to repeat in English what I have said.

It has been my privilege and good fortune to have received kindness and welcome from Bombay on many occasions. The Mayor has referred to the year 1934 when I came here to preside over the session of the Indian National Congress. The reception that was given to me was such that it is not possible for me ever to forget it. I believe, it is not possible also for many of those who participated in it. What a tremendous change has occurred since then! I came, at that occasion, to preside over the Congress as the leader of a party which was rebellious against the Government of those days. I come today as the chosen representative of the people and the Government of this vast country. That in itself shows the great difference between the situation then and the situation now.

Today, we are free to shape our own destiny. There is no third party now on whom we can place the blame for anything that goes wrong or to whom we can give credit for anything that goes right. The blame or the credit for anything that happens in this country must now come to us. It is, therefore, our duty to shape our conduct and to lead our country in a manner which may enable the people to realise their high hopes, formed after becoming free. We have been enjoying freedom for two years and a half. We had many problems. We had many visions and great hopes. But we have not, so far, done much towards achieving them. The reason is that we have not been able to give the time and attention that is required for achieving any great thing.

On the eve of Freedom, we had to agree to the partition of our country. It is a well known fact that we did not like the idea, but we accepted it in good faith and in the hope that it would enable us to live in peace and to run the country in the way we consider most profitable for the people. Unfortunately, events and incidents have happened which have wrecked that hope and today many people in this country are living in fear or in expectation of something terrible happening overnight. We know that similar things are happening, across our border, in Pakistan. We also know that in those places, events have happened

Speech delivered on the occasion of the Civic Reception given by the Bombay Municipal Corporation and the citizens of Bombay, at Pherozshah Mehta Gardens, on April 5, 1950.

which have caused a shudder among our people. It is but natural that we should feel embittered, because our relations with those who suffer are very intimate. Change of political boundary has not enabled the people to cut themselves off altogether. Socially, there are millions and millions of people in West Bengal who have got their closest relations in East Bengal. If a man is in Calcutta and his father, mother, brother or sister is in Dacca, and if anything happens to one in Dacca or in Calcutta, it is natural that its reaction will be felt by the man or woman who is at the other place. We would be less than human or perhaps more than human, if we pretended that the happenings across the border have no effect on us. No civilised person can, however, give his assent to the proposition that a man in Bombay should be punished for what someone else, 1,500 miles away, has done in Dacca. We would simply be reducing ourselves to the status of barbarians if we thought of retaliating for what happened elsewhere and retaliating against those who had absolutely nothing to do with and perhaps were not even in the know of what had happened. It is, therefore, necessary that our people here should realise their responsibilities in this respect. Our Constitution has declared in no uncertain terms that every citizen of India is entitled to follow his own religion and to equality of status with all others irrespective of his race or religion. It is, therefore, a moral obligation on every Indian to see to it that no citizen of India suffers, because he happens to belong to a faith in common with someone elsewhere. This conception of retaliation is absolutely wrong. After all, if in our folly, we do something here, instead of helping those for whom we feel, it may really have a bad effect and cause them greater sufferings. Thus, both from the moral as well as the practical point of view, it is necessary that our people should behave correctly and should keep themselves on the right side.

The people of our country must rest assured that their Government is neither negligent nor is likely to forget or ignore what happens elsewhere. They are fully aware of the happenings. They are also conscious of their obligations in the matter, and they will do everything to help the sufferers. No Government can afford to allow its citizens to take the law into their own hands and to retaliate for wrongs done either within its own borders or elsewhere. It is the duty of citizens to leave it to the Government to take such action as it considers necessary and desirable in the circumstances.

As a result of the action which our Government has taken, important and serious talks are going on in Delhi for the last two or three days. I

can tell you that the conversations have been going on in a spirit of complete cordiality and in a spirit of willingness to arrive at conclusions which would be helpful to both India and Pakistan and which will be fair and practicable. Let us all hope and pray that the conversations may prove successful and may end in an agreement enabling the people on both sides of the border to live in peace, and to be free from anxieties and sufferings.

My request to the citizens of Bombay and through them to the people of India, is that they should take note of what is happening and be prepared to help the Government in reaching conclusions which may be beneficial to all.

OUR ANCIENT MARITIME TRADITION

I am very pleased to have this opportunity of meeting you this afternoon. Though our Navy is young, our record of navigation over the seas in the past is very old. Our Navy—armed as well as merchant—depends entirely upon our sailors and navigators. We are now building up a navy which I hope will be commensurate in size and power with the vastness and greatness of our country. It rests entirely upon you, who have just joined the Navy to make it great and powerful. Not long ago, we used to build, in Indian shipyards, ships to go across the seas. Large ships were being built even till the time of the East India Company and we used to supply ships to the British Navy in the beginning of the 19th century. Today, we are again building up our shipyards and our merchant navy will now be able to play a very important part in building up trade of the country. We look up to you for upholding the old traditions and to attain and maintain a standard of efficiency which will redound to your credit and to the credit of this country. I wish you good luck and give you my best wishes.

Address to the officers and men of I.N.S. "Delhi" and representative contingents from other ships of the I.N. Squadron, delivered on board, on April 5, 1950.

REFORM OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS

It has given me great pleasure to go round this institution, the first of its kind I have seen so far. I am delighted to see the children's work and the way in which they are being looked after. It is evident that such an institution is very useful. Though the task of reforming juvenile delinquents is urgent, it is by no means easy. It is, indeed, commendable that you guide such children to the right path and enable them to live a normal life. I would, therefore, like to congratulate all who work in this institution.

I am happy to see that the children learn beautiful and useful handicrafts and that, through games and group exercises, they develop not only healthy bodies but also a keen sense of team spirit. I am glad to say that this institution is worthy of the name it bears. It is, in the true sense, a home for children. It teaches the children the habit of living a disciplined home life and the undesirable habits, which they form as a result of unhealthy associations, are soon broken. I, therefore, feel that your institution deserves all possible encouragement and support from the public.

One can, quite naturally, ask, "But, why does man commit crime?" The question though difficult, can be answered through different theories regarding the origin of crime, one of which holds that criminal tendencies being inborn, man is by nature susceptible to crime. However, there is another theory according to which crime is not inherent in man but is the result of environment. Further, if this environment could be removed, evil would be removed and man would be free of crime. It appears to me that this latter view contains a great measure of truth and gives scope for improvement in human behaviour. If a child falls into evil ways, the fault lies in the environment and not in the child. I believe that if we could create a healthy environment the child would give up the undesirable habits he had acquired. It is my hope that the work that you have started here and which has been going on for the last several years, would make still greater progress. I would like this work to be extended to every province in India. The future of India belongs to her children. If they fall into evil ways, everything would be lost; but if we could save our children from evil we would move towards *Ram Rajya*, the India of Gandhiji's dreams.

Address at Chembur Children's Home, Mankhurd, Bombay, on April 6, 1950.

THE ROSHANARA CLUB

The circumstances under which this club came into existence, and the kind of work in which it has been engaged ever since viz., of bringing together people of goodwill, is really something which we need more than anything else. In this country, there is a large variety of men and women speaking different languages and following different religions. Besides our own people, we have got a very large population of men and women coming from other countries. Delhi happens to be the Capital of India and hence it attracts people from different countries. In a city like this, a club of this kind has a value of its own and it is for this reason that I welcome the establishment and the continuance of this Club, which has been doing such admirable work for more than a quarter of a century now.

Since the establishment of the Capital in New Delhi, this place has become somewhat inaccessible or not easily accessible to many people who are living on the other side of the city. I am sure, if it had been established after the Capital shifted to New Delhi, the Club would have been located there. Still, it speaks a lot about the popularity of your Club, that you have such distinguished members belonging to all classes in this big city.

I have always felt that contact on the social level is very necessary. In a club, we forget our official worries which are natural to all people holding responsible positions either in the Government or in business or in any other sphere of life. The value of institutions like this cannot be exaggerated in modern times when we have to live a life which is really a race. We are continually busy with this thing or that thing and are always passing through times of crisis. In this age, a place where we can relax and forget our cares and worries and where we can meet each other on terms of equality, friendship and fraternity, is of great value. Games and sports add considerably to the utility of the institution. I am glad that you have got extensive grounds which by themselves must be a great attraction to all sports lovers.

I am glad you have given me this opportunity of meeting so many friends here. I hope it will be possible for me now and then in spite of all my other engagements and worries to come to you whenever you want me, so that we might know each other better. I thank you for the welcome extended to me and for the honour you have done me by asking me to become a patron of this Club.

Reply to the reception given in his honour by the Members of the Roshanara Club, Delhi, on April 15, 1950.

SIR MAURICE GWYER

I consider it a great privilege to be associated with this morning's very pleasant function. Sir Maurice Gwyer has been in this country for a pretty long time and his association with the University is twelve years old. He came with a high reputation as a jurist and we all know the part that he played in drafting the Government of India Act of 1935 which has served, in great parts, as a model for the Constitution we have now adopted.

His work in the University has been of a unique character. Not only has he brought to bear on his work, his great learning and his great judicial acumen, but also the enthusiasm of a young man. In the twelve years that he has spent here, he has, as you have rightly said in the citation, been the maker of this University. It has grown from strength to strength and many new faculties have been added. To suit the new requirements, new buildings have grown up and are still growing up.

How I wish other retired people, when they lay down the reins of high offices, devote themselves with the same energy and the same devotion to educational work as Sir Maurice Gwyer has done. Our Universities will be the richer for them and our young people will have before them the great example of some of the greatest men in the country ending their careers as teachers in the Universities.

I wish you, Sir Maurice Gwyer, a happy life during the rest of the time that you will spend in your own dear country. I assure you that you are leaving behind a good example for us to follow and your services will be cherished in India.

There is one thing more which I should desire to announce at this stage. It is that in commemoration of Sir Maurice Gwyer's long association with the University of Delhi, the Executive Council has decided to name the University Hall as Gwyer Hall and Rajpur Colony as Maurice Nagar. This is, after all, a very small token of the esteem and honour in which Sir Maurice Gwyer is held here. I know his name will live not because of its association with these institutions, but because of the great services which he has rendered.

THE CONSTITUTION CLUB

I am grateful for this opportunity which you have given me to meet so many Members of Parliament as also so many other citizens of Delhi. The value of an institution like this always lies in the fact that it enables people following different professions to have some kind of relaxation and, at the same time, to know and understand each other's viewpoint by regular contact. I am glad that this Club which was started in the year 1947, when I happened to be the President of the Constituent Assembly, has grown and has become more popular with the passage of time. I hope that your membership will increase and it will not be necessary for you to have two classes of members, because I believe the work in our Parliament is going to be more or less continuous. The Members of Parliament will not claim and certainly they will not deserve any concession by reason of their longer absence from station. I hope that this Club will play, more and more, a better part in bringing together different classes of people and enabling them to exchange their views. They can, thus, prove more helpful and useful in whatever sphere of life they may be placed.

It is good that you propose to provide opportunities for sports. Members of Parliament have to spend their whole time in the House and hardly get any opportunity even for indoor games inside the House. In the Bar Library, I know they have some sort of indoor games and there they get an opportunity of relaxing. Although, it may not always be desirable and profitable, but I think that legislators have not yet advanced to such a stage. It is therefore necessary that there should be a club to give these facilities to the Members of Parliament. Being situated at a small distance from the residence of most of the members—the Constitution House—this Club has its own utility. Having recognised its utility the Government has been helping it. In doing so, they are doing nothing out of the way.

I wish your Club every success and I am sure, the Club would provide me more opportunities of meeting Members of Parliament and its other members. This will compensate me for the restrictions my present office imposes on the freedom of my movement. I assure you that I shall always enjoy it and I will, if necessary, myself invite the members of this Club.

Address on the occasion of a reception given by the Governing Body of the Constitution Club at the Constitution Club grounds, on April 17, 1950.

THE ROLE OF THE RED CROSS

I extend a warm welcome to you all, especially the representatives from the States who have undertaken long journeys to attend this meeting. I assure you that it has given me genuine pleasure to be associated with your two great humanitarian organisations and I shall be happy to do whatever I can to help your good cause.

I am delighted to hear that during 1949 the St. John Ambulance Association has made substantial progress in the provision of facilities for instructing people and that the Brigades have recorded an increase, especially in the Cadet Division. I hope that this progress will be maintained and that our young men and women will take an increasing interest in the First Aid and Home Nursing courses so as to enable them to play a useful role in alleviating suffering.

It is gratifying to know that members of the St. John Ambulance Brigade have rendered first aid to thousands of injured people during the year and they may all be justly proud of it. The Indian Red Cross Society's relief work in the State of Jammu and Kashmir deserves special mention as also does their assistance to displaced persons who are starting life anew all over the country. It is good to know that both your organisations are helping the refugees from East Bengal.

The Red Cross family of one hundred million members, attached to sixty-eight national Societies all over the world, constitutes a vital force for the preservation of peace. Several societies have lightened the burden of our relief activities and, despite the pressing demands at home, our Society has been able to extend its helping hand to sister Societies across the seas. I am happy, that, with the friendly co-operation of the Pakistan Society, Red Cross comforts have been regularly provided by our Society to Indian internees at the Attock Fort and by the Pakistan Society to Pakistani internees at Yol. For the valuable work done last year in obtaining various facilities for the internees, including a regular correspondence with their relatives, I must pay a tribute to the distinguished delegates of the International Red Cross—Dr. Marti and Mr. Burckhardt. Dr. Marti is here again assessing the relief needed by the refugees from East Bengal and I trust his endeavours will give much needed comfort to them.

Speech delivered at the Annual General Meeting of the Indian Red Cross Society and St. John Ambulance Association on April 20, 1950 at New Delhi.

The Hospital Services Section's care of permanently disabled ex-servicemen in the Red Cross Homes and the provision of amenities and diversional therapy through welfare workers and its work in military hospitals and field medical units is indeed commendable. Also commendable is the aid given by the Society to sick ex-servicemen through its Medical After-Care Fund, as the country owes a deep debt to those who have served in its Defence Forces.

It gives us satisfaction to note the continued development of the Junior Red Cross movement, for we look to it to sow the principles of the Red Cross in the minds of the youth of our country. I am glad that the Maternity and Child Welfare Bureau has maintained satisfactory progress. The importance of the activities of the Bureau, in training personnel to look after the health of mothers and children, cannot be exaggerated in a country where facilities for medical aid are so inadequate.

There is a great need for increasing the strength of nurses so that they can actively supplement the services of the nursing profession in the country. I strongly support Rajkumariji's appeal to our ladies to come forward in large numbers for training in home nursing. This will not only be useful to them in their homes but will also afford opportunities for serving others.

Finally, I congratulate and thank you all for the excellent work done last year and wish you every success in the arduous duties which always face social workers. Your work is full of significance for the future. You will be sustained in your efforts by faith in the aims of the Red Cross and the knowledge that you are a part of an international movement dedicated to the relief of human suffering irrespective of caste, creed or colour.

I would be failing in my duty if, before concluding, I did not make a special mention of the valuable services rendered by the Secretary-General, Sardar Balwant Singh Puri. That the edifice of the Red Cross stands high in India today is due, in no small measure, to the untiring efforts of our Secretary-General who has laboured at building it up from the very foundations.

INDIAN SCHOOL OF MINES

This opportunity of visiting the School of Mines and Applied Geology has given me great pleasure, particularly because I have taken it at an early stage of my official career. I have visited this area many times during the last thirty years, but this is the first time that I have entered the compound of this institution. During the course of my inspection of the mines some years ago—Mr. Barraclough will remember that very well—I visited many of the mines and I saw the kind of work that is being done by those engaged in mining and by others who are charged with the duty of managing the mines. It is necessary that you should have an institution which will give theoretical and practical training to enable workers to manage these mines efficiently and successfully. This institution was started with this object nearly a quarter of a century ago and since then it has, as you have pointed out, grown in importance and size. I am glad to know that most of the recommendations which had been made by a committee appointed by the Government have already been implemented and the others are under consideration.

It is a natural desire and ambition on the part of the students and the teachers of this institution that their diploma should receive recognition. This recognition is necessary to enable the students to pursue higher education and to secure suitable employment. The question of recognition is already before the Inter-University Board. Let us hope that their recommendations will be favourable. You have also said that efforts have been made to secure recognition by foreign Universities, but that they have not yet been successful. I think that when you have succeeded in receiving due recognition by our Universities, foreign countries will follow suit. I wish to impress upon you that mere recognition will not count so much as your actual work and efficiency, and a man's efficiency lies in the work he does. If his work is satisfactory, it will be his right to get recognition. I would ask you to put your heart and soul into making your institution efficient in the eyes of the world and then it will not be your business to seek recognition but it will be the business of other people to seek recognition from you. Let me hope that the day is not far off when this will happen.

As regards the recognition for recruitment to services, this is a matter with which the Government is principally concerned. We have no doubt that the steps already taken to get recognition from the Institute of

Speech at the Indian School of Mines and Applied Geology, Dhanbad, on April 21, 1950.

Engineers are in the right direction. Whatever further action is necessary will be taken by the Government and your diplomas will have the same value as University degrees in the eyes of the Public Service Commissions.

The recognition of your institution as well as exemption from further examination for appointments to the post of mine managers is more or less a technical matter, about which I am not in a position to say much. But I believe, the theoretical training you get in your institution and, as you have said, the two years' training in the mines, ought to be sufficient to enable you to get through this course.

I am glad to learn that you have already raised the number of admissions from 25 to 48 per year and that it is going to be raised still further, so that, in the year 1952, you will be able to admit 60 students. There has also been a corresponding addition to the staff and improvement in their prospects and their salaries. I hope that there will be a general improvement in the position of this institution and I am sure that the Government is alive to the necessity of giving all possible encouragement to an institution like this. I wish to congratulate you on what has been achieved and I expect further achievements.

FUEL RESEARCH

It was as long ago as the 9th of July, 1940 that a Fuel Research Committee, with the late Dr. H. K. Sen as Chairman, was constituted by the Government of India on the recommendation of the Director, Scientific and Industrial Research. This Committee, at its very first meeting, resolved that the ultimate aim should be the establishment of a Central Fuel Research Station for India and later reiterated its resolution that a Central Fuel Research Station be set up at an early date. Early in January 1941, the Sub-Committee of the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research recommended the establishment of a Central Fuel Research Institute with the following functions, namely, (a) chemical and physical survey of Indian coal; (b) processing and preparing coal with special reference to metallurgical coke; and (c) low temperature carbonisation.

Although various schemes were discussed from time to time, no action could be taken until December 1943, when the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research approved the estimate for the establishment of a Fuel Research Station, and a grant of Rs. 3 lakh was made by the Government of India to the Council during 1944-45 for this purpose. In 1944, the Council, on the recommendation of the Fuel Research Committee, appointed a Local Planning Committee for conducting the day-to-day work for the establishment of the Institute. Dr. J. W. Whitaker was appointed as Director of the Institute and Dr. A. Lahiri as Assistant Director. A plan for the construction and equipment of this laboratory at an estimated cost of Rs. 14 lakh was drawn up and approved by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. Subsequently, in view of the heavy increase in the cost of building and equipment, most of which had to be ordered from abroad, the Government of India, on the recommendation of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, agreed to increase the capital grant for this Institute to Rs. 29.25 lakh. An additional grant of Rs. 9 lakh has been sanctioned for the equipment of five Coal Survey Stations.

The foundation-stone of this Institute was laid on the 17th November, 1946 by the Honourable Mr. C. H. Bhabha, then Minister for Works, Mines & Power. It was arranged that I should have the privilege of laying the foundation-stone, but unfortunately on account of ill-health, I could not undertake the journey and so my friend the Honourable Mr. Bhabha

Speech while opening the National Fuel Research Institute at Digwadih in Jharia Coalfields, on April 22, 1950.

had to take the trouble of coming here for the function. I am glad that what I could not do then has fallen to me to complete today. I am, therefore, thankful for the opportunity which has been given to me to associate myself with the opening of this Fuel Research Institute.

It is not necessary for me to dilate, at any length, on the necessity and utility of such an institute and of research in regard to fuel in our country. It is well-known that in the modern industrial age, everything depends upon power and most power comes from energy produced by conversion of fuel into heat. India is rich in mineral resources. It has been estimated that our total coal reserves are about 65,000 million tons, of which 22,000 million tons are considered workable at present. The good quality coal, however, does not exceed 5,000 million tons, but not all of this is suitable for metallurgical purposes. Our total annual output of all kinds of coal is round about 30 million tons of which about a third is consumed by the railways. About 13 million tons are being used for metallurgical purposes.

The Coal Mining Committee of 1937 estimated the life of the total reserves of Indian coals of good quality to be 120 years. Coking coal of good quality would, according to it, last about 62 years and non-coking coal of good quality about 100 years. It will thus be seen that the position of coking coal reserves in India is poor, especially because we have very large reserves of high grade iron ore available in India. Within 150 miles of the coalfields alone, the iron ore reserves exceed 3,000 million tons. At the present rate of output, consumption and waste in mining, the reserves of high grade coking coal in India can hardly last for more than fifty years. We shall of course have more precise knowledge from the full report of the Committee now considering the conservation of coking coal reserves. Coals of high volatile content, other than those of the metallurgical type, have special uses such as carbonisation, by-products recovery, synthetic production of oils, gas manufacture and so on. The Coal Tar Industry has a great future and is equally a necessity in view of our road building programme. A great variety of oils, high explosives, dyes, medicines, plastics, anti-septics, insecticides, germicides, etc. can also be derived from coal tar. As a matter of fact, the utilisation and conservation of our coal reserves is absolutely necessary in the interests of the country's industrial development. This will depend on our ability to improve and utilise our inferior grades of coal for various industries. The coal by-products industry must also be developed for the benefit of the fuel industry and the country at large. It is therefore

not at all surprising that the Coal Commission, the Coal Mining Committee and in fact every committee, which has had to deal with coal has urged the establishment of a Central Fuel Research Institute. In 1938-39, I visited the coalfields in connection with the work of the Labour Enquiry Committee appointed by the Government of Bihar, of which I was the Chairman. At that time, Mr. Farquhar, formerly Chairman of the Fuel Research Committee, impressed upon us the necessity of conserving superior quality coal for metallurgical purposes and complained bitterly against its waste.

The Geological Survey of India has given us some idea of our coal-reserves, but the physical and chemical data available are said to be scanty. Something has been done by the industrial firms. But on the whole what has been accomplished is little, when we think of what still remains to be done. The object of the Fuel Research Institute of India is to cover all aspects of research, both fundamental and applied, on solid, liquid and gaseous fuels. For the present, the activities of the Institute will necessarily be confined largely to solid fuels, coal in particular and the liquid and gaseous fuels derived from it. The subject is technical and can best be dealt with by a person like Dr. Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar, who was described by Sri Rajagopalachari, when inaugurating the opening of the National Physical Laboratory at Delhi, as a live wire. He has worked hard for bringing into existence not only this Institute, but also the National Physical Laboratory at Delhi and the National Chemical Laboratory at Poona, which have been opened during the last few months, and for the opening of four other Institutes in the course of this year, namely, the Central Glass and Ceramic Research Institute at Calcutta, the Central Food Technological Research Institute at Mysore, the Central Drug Research Institute at Lucknow and the National Metallurgical Laboratory at Jamshedpur. This Fuel Research Institute is to be aided and supported in its work by five outlying field laboratories in Bengal, Bihar, Vindhya Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Assam.

We import a great many things which are derived from coal and if our Institute works on the problem of utilising our coal resources in the best possible way, we can hope not only for a tremendous increase in the production of iron and coal, for which there is an immense quantity of raw material available, but also for a large number of by-products enumerated above, almost all of which we now import from other countries. It should not be beyond our resources to develop those industries, which will utilise coal and its by-products. Countries which do not have mineral oil are attempting to convert, economically, their coal reserves into liquid fuel. We have not yet been able to strike upon any

large source of mineral oil in this country. It is for scientists to tell us how we can make good this deficiency in our natural resources by utilising what we have in such abundant quantities, namely, coal. Even when we have developed our water-power resources to a much greater extent, coal will still be required for metallurgical purposes and for many of its by-products. The production of increased energy from our water resources should be co-ordinated with the scheme for utilising our coal resources. As stated above, we are utilising nearly a third of the coal that is mined, in our railways and a large proportion in non-metallurgical industries. Even if all the energy that is required for these purposes could, within a reasonable span of time, be supplied by the development of our hydro electric works, we shall still need a scientific utilisation of our coal for the various products that I have mentioned. One of the problems of planning will be to co-ordinate both these developments so as not to dislocate or waste anything which we may establish now.

I have been visiting the coalfields off and on for the last thirty years. On every occasion that I have had to spend a night or two in this area, I have seen huge quantities of coal being burnt by the road-side, in the compounds of houses and almost everywhere, emitting an immense quantity of smoke and rendering life difficult. This is done to convert coal into coke. In the process, however, all the by-products which could be obtained if scientific methods were adopted, are wasted and lost. I hope it will be possible to devise schemes which will enable even the small collieries to convert such of their coal, as they wish to, into coke by a process which will not only save the by-products that are lost, but also make life in the coalfields free from the trouble and inconvenience caused by smoke and soot.

There is a very extensive field for work and I am quite sure this Institute, with its local or satellite laboratories when they are all working in full swing, will be able to help in the best utilisation of our fuel resources. My interest in this Institute is all the greater because I cannot help being conscious that it is located in a State to which I belong. But, I know that its success will benefit not only the States of Bihar and Bengal, but the country as a whole. Let me express the hope that the Institute will never have to starve for want of funds and will be able to count on the support not only of the Governments, both State and Union, but also of the large and influential body of industrialists who are as much interested in its development as the Government. I hope also that our universities will help it by supplying the kind of research workers who will be needed for making the Institute a success. The Laboratories

have been constructed and fitted with the latest equipment, but a laboratory by itself cannot produce results unless it is manned by human beings with adequate knowledge, enthusiasm for research and interest in the welfare of the country. You have got, at the head of this Institute, Dr. J. W. Whitaker and Dr. A. Lahiri who have already shown their capacity in the work. I have no doubt their services in the future, as they have been in the past, will be of great value to the country. The Institute opens up new vistas of knowledge and service for our youngmen and women and I can only express the hope that they will equip themselves for the work that lies ahead.

THE ASOKA PILLAR—ITS SIGNIFICANCE

I am glad to have this opportunity of meeting so many friends here. In the address which you have so kindly presented to me, you have reminded me of those glorious days of struggle when so many of our countrymen lost their lives and so many more suffered and made all kinds of sacrifices. It is a matter of pleasure now, at the end of that struggle, to see so many of you present here in this gathering. By presenting to me the 'Asoka Pillar' you have reminded me of the great Emperor who, more than two thousand years ago, laid down and preached the principles which we, in our humble way, tried to follow in our fight for freedom. The struggle was unique in many respects : it was unique in the method it followed and in its achievements. I now hope that the country will take every advantage of the opportunities which lie before it and that in course of time we shall so develop as to be able not only to serve ourselves, but also the whole world. That is the significance of Asoka's Pillar, the capital of which is now our national emblem. Asoka was the Emperor who tried, in the earlier part of his life, to conquer the world with the help of his sword. He succeeded also, but after the Kalinga War he laid aside his sword and devoted himself to peace—a peace which is remembered even today. The lessons which he taught were inscribed on pillars of stone. These pillars stand to this day in many parts of the country and the lessons inscribed on them are as true in the world of today as they were in the time of Asoka.

We are now passing through a crisis. Let us all hope and pray that a terrible catastrophe will not overtake the world. Let us hope and pray that the spirit of non-violence which inspired Asoka the Great—and let me humbly add which inspired us in our struggle for freedom—will inspire and protect those in whose hands the destinies of the world lie today. Let us also hope that the time will come when we shall be able to declare with strength that we shall settle not only our private differences and disputes through the method of conciliation and negotiation, but also those international disputes and conflicts which lead to war. Unless the world puts faith in this principle and adopts it as its basis of action, it may well be that the progress which advanced countries have made in preparing weapons of destruction, will lead them to disaster. There is only one hope of our surviving this catastrophe and I am one of those who

Speech delivered at a reception given by the members of the Indian National Consolidation and Peace Organisation at New Delhi on August 14, 1950.

believe that the way which Gandhiji lived and the lessons he taught alone can help us in avoiding the catastrophe which threatens the world.

You have, in your address, also referred to many difficulties which our Government has had to face. We value our freedom and we know that it has also brought its own problems which we have to solve. Among these is the one to which you have made special reference, namely, the resettlement of large numbers of people who were forced to leave their hearths and homes and go to distant places for shelter. There are millions of such people and our Government has been doing its best to rehabilitate them. But the problem is so vast and tremendous that it is no wonder that its solution has not met all their expectations. Within the last few months we have had another exodus of a large number of people and this has not yet ceased. The problem has presented itself not only in western but also eastern India. We have therefore to devote all our energies and all our resources to its solution. I am certain that the Government will do its best to rehabilitate the displaced persons, but the people at large and the refugees themselves should render all possible assistance and co-operation to the Government. With our combined efforts, we can legitimately hope that the time will come when we shall have done something of which we may all be proud.

THE CHALLENGE OF FREEDOM

The third anniversary of our national emancipation comes to us not only as a day of rejoicing but also one of challenge. We may legitimately rejoice over the progress that has been made during the last three years in the political integration of the country, the nationalisation of its army, the reorganisation of its administration and the establishment of a planning machinery. While we have cause to be satisfied with our progress in forging powerful instruments with which to transform our economic life, our actual record in overcoming economic difficulties and making good the shortages in commodities cannot afford us much satisfaction. Our progress in the economic sphere has been rather slow and small.

We have, no doubt, overcome the bottleneck in transport and the flow of goods has become freer. We have made progress in the rehabilitation of refugees but much still remains to be done. Recent events in Bengal have added to the magnitude and complexity of this problem. We have brought more land under the plough, though, even in this sphere, progress has not been such as to free us from anxiety. The food problem continues to be one of our major headaches. During the last few weeks, the food situation in some parts of the country has been serious. Steps have, however, been taken to bring immediate relief. We have undertaken multi-purpose projects, which, when completed, will place more power at our disposal and free us from the curse of floods. Here also, however, progress is rather slow and tardy. But we must realize that progress in this sphere could not but be slow as the situation with which we are faced is being shaped not only by ourselves but also by factors and forces—both elemental and international—over which we do not and cannot have any control.

Our present difficulties are great and pressing, but they need not depress us. On the other hand, we should recognise them to be what they really are—a challenge. We must recognise, once and for all, that we can meet this challenge only if we firmly follow the path of right. The fact is that man can escape his misery only if he remains loyal to moral values even in adversity—a truth that can be illustrated from a thousand stories from the scriptures and from history. This is also the essence of the teachings of the Father of our Nation. More than ever before, we should hold firmly to the moral code which he had placed before us—the

Message to the nation on the third anniversary of Independence broadcast from the Delhi Station of All-India Radio on August 15, 1950.

ideal of the world above self, service above gratification, love above violence, and creation above destruction. Adherence to this faith implies, in the present historic epoch, that each one of us should be ready and willing to perform his duty even at the cost of his rights. So long as the problem confronting us was one of acquiring power from the British, we could not but carry on our struggle in the name of our rights, both national and individual. Now, we do not have to acquire rights but to make the best use of the power we already possess in order to serve the interests of our country as a whole. Naturally, the emphasis shifts from acquisition to contribution, from individual rights to group obligations. This shift of emphasis becomes all the more urgent in view of the complex problems that have arisen during the centuries. We have practically nothing to share except this burden of history. Our people can successfully bear it only when each one of us, whether rich or poor, educated or uneducated, city dweller or villager, aged or young, man or woman, becomes ready and willing to share it. This means that, at the present moment, no individual may legitimately insist on his own privileges and profits, comforts and conveniences, claims and rights. On the other hand, each citizen should apply all his energies and devote all his resources to meeting the challenge of the past and the promise of the future. We should be ready to work day and night for carrying light and life to every one of the cottages in the myriad villages and towns of our Motherland. It is only when such dedication to duty will be the distinguishing feature of our individual and collective life that we shall triumph over the difficulties that beset us.

Once we grasp this central truth of service before pleasure, of putting others before self, all the problems that have been poisoning the atmosphere will simply fade away. Communalism, regionalism, class rivalry, corruption—whether political, administrative or in the sphere of business—are all symptoms of a lack of faith in this great and basic principle of group action. What we need most is a closer understanding of the problem, a deeper insight and self-examination. We must not only, as individuals and as a nation, adopt high ideals but also establish among ourselves a form of conduct which is based on an appreciation of moral values. The only way out for us is to rededicate ourselves—each one of us—to this moral faith.

We must resist the temptations to which power is likely to expose us. We should not think of becoming rich at the expense of others and of our principles. The false notion that the time for work and sacrifice is over and it is now time to enjoy should be dispelled. This is all the more

important in the context of the international situation. The world is today on the brink of an abyss and a single false step may send it headlong into the bottomless pit of destruction. I therefore hope that our common people, our workers and administrators, our thinkers and writers will all rise to the occasion and, discarding all selfish considerations, throw themselves into the noble task of building a new and better India. Capital, trade, labour, the services and professions, all have their contribution to make and their burdens to bear and let me hope that they will fulfil their obligations. We are heirs to a great past and the architects of a better and braver future. By the grace of God and through the active co-operation of all sections of our people, we shall overcome the difficulties that straddle our path and march forward to the glorious temple of Peace, Prosperity and Progress.

RETURN OF LORD BUDDHA'S RELICS

It is a matter of good fortune for the Indian people that this exhibition of the sacred relics of Lord Buddha and his disciples is being held here. Lord Buddha had shown the path of salvation to the whole world. The religion that he founded even now holds sway over vast areas of the world. There have been great empires and many a great emperor and king. But they have disappeared in the dust as the basis of their power was not moral values but violence and conquest. The empire which Lord Buddha established is one that would remain in the world for ever and would continue to influence the lives of men for all time to come. Even after the passage of 2,500 years, his influence over the people in this country is still alive. Our Government is, in substance, acting upon the basic teachings of Lord Buddha. It is therefore a matter of great luck for us that this sacred treasure which had gone out of our country has returned to us. We have got this opportunity of showing our respect and reverence to the remains of the Lord and his chief disciples. I am conscious of the fact that in this country, where Lord Buddha was born, there are not to be found many persons today who can be termed as his formal followers. But I have no doubt in my mind that the truth he revealed to us and the path that he showed to us has been assimilated by our people in their culture to such an extent that it may be said that every item of his teachings has become a part and parcel of our lives. It is my earnest desire that our relations with the Buddhists of the world should grow deeper and more intimate and that we, together, may be able to move forward in the service of mankind.

Speech delivered while inaugurating the Exhibition of the Sacred Relics of Lord Buddha and his two Chief Disciples at the Maha Bodhi Hall in New Delhi on August 21, 1950.

SCIENCE IN AGRICULTURE

I have visited this Institute more than once when I was associated with the Ministry of Agriculture. But this is the first occasion on which I have come here as the President of our Republic. My interest in your work is genuine because I realise—and I think you should also realise—that India is mainly an agricultural country. More than 80 per cent of the Indian people depend upon agriculture for a living. The industries also depend upon agriculture for their raw materials. Therefore I think that your work in this Institute is really a means of the highest service that you can do for the country. Our duty now is to see that our agriculturists are helped so that they can produce enough food for the entire population. It is really a matter of great regret that an agricultural country like India does not produce enough food. It is now for you to help the country in producing at least as much food as we require. Our population is increasing day by day, but we cannot increase the land. There is undoubtedly some uncultivated land which can be brought under cultivation. Even then it cannot be enough for the increasing population. We have, therefore, to make an effort to produce all the food we require.

The task before us is to find ways and means by which we can increase the yield from our land. Science has succeeded in working wonders in many spheres of life. Our agriculturists know how to increase the yield and I hope that with the help of scientific and technical institutions, especially of your Institution, we shall be able to produce sufficient food in the future. I am sure you will be able to provide our farmers with new and better methods for increased production. There is no reason why more food cannot be produced from the same area of land. I think our yield per acre is less than one-third or one-fourth of that in other countries. At the same time, you have to discover why it is that although our land has been cultivated for centuries, it has retained a certain degree of fertility, whereas in countries like America and Australia where there is scientific cultivation and the land has been cultivated only for the last 100 or 150 years, there are signs of decreasing fertility. I think that in the process of cultivation we give back to the soil what we take from it—may be by the rotation of crops or by restoring to the soil what it loses in the form of manure. We are consuming millions of tons of petrol and coal, but are not restoring anything to their diminishing

Speech delivered at the Indian Agricultural Research Institute on August 30, 1950.

stock. We are faced, in agriculture, with a similar situation, though on a very much smaller scale. By deep ploughing and the use of fertilisers and chemicals, American and Australian farmers have been able to increase the produce but they have not been able to maintain the fertility of the soil. Our cultivators, on the other hand, have been able to maintain this fertility in spite of long years of cultivation.

While going round your laboratory I was told how the rotation and mixing of different crops helps maintain the fertility of the soil. In the villages this is an ordinary practice. Further, the villagers sow more than one crop at a time. When maize is sown, *arhar*, *til*, *urd*, cotton and sometimes *pat* (jute) will be sown together. The maize crop is ready first, then *urd* and *til*, after that *arhar* and finally cotton. Cotton is sown in the period between the latter part of June and the first part of July. *Urd* is ready in September, *arhar* in March, and cotton in June. The sowing is simultaneous and this has the effect of restoring to the soil something of what is taken away by one particular crop. Wheat, barley and gram can be sown together on the same kind of soil. Wheat and gram are ready for harvesting simultaneously. The effect of mixed farming and rotation on the soil and on the yield has to be investigated. If from one acre of land, you can get five maunds of maize, three maunds of *urd*, two maunds of *til* and five maunds of *arhar*, the different crops taken together will mean a good yield. You should examine each little item, on the basis of your experience and scientific knowledge, so that there may be an increase in the yield. It would be better to proceed on lines acceptable to the villager. If you take an entirely new approach, it will take a long time to induce the villagers to adopt it. You should, therefore, approach the problem through the existing methods of cultivation. But this does not mean that other methods are to be ignored. On the other hand, I believe that, when there is a shortage of food, any method which is likely to increase food production should be welcomed. I have suggested this as a layman who has a little experience of cultivation and not as one who can judge from the point of view of scientific knowledge. We cannot depend on other countries for food grains and it is for you to place your knowledge at the disposal of the cultivator.

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DRAMA IN INDIAN LIFE

Drama is a very old art of India. It has a prolonged and distinguished history. Our literature is full of drama and music. Some of our books which have been translated into European languages have extorted the admiration of scholars and artistes all the world over. We are trying now to build up a sort of national stage in this country. Art—whether it is music, drama or architecture—has a motive in religion. It was the religious ideal which was sought to be expressed through all these arts and our literature of ancient days. During the last two or three hundred years—perhaps more in Northern India—specially in the region from which I come, arts like dancing had fallen into disrepute. It is not so much the art, it is the artists who have acquired that kind of evil repute. We must rescue art and artists and bring them on to the public stage in a form which will be acceptable to all our people as an inspiring ideal and which may enhance our national repute. I, therefore, welcome this attempt which is being made here to establish a national stage for the whole country. The way in which the artists are proceeding in their work and the success which they have already achieved lead us to hope that in due course we shall be able to build up a national stage worthy of this country, worthy of its great past and I hope, worthy of its bright future.

I wish you all success.

THE CHANGED TIMES

It has given me great pleasure to come to your city for the first time as President of India. I had no doubt visited Simla once before and it was when Lord Wavell had called a conference for negotiations with the political leaders of this country in order to arrive at some settlement of the Indian political problem. I had then stayed here for a few days. Neither then nor now, when I have been here only for the last few hours, have I had occasion to see your city to any appreciable extent.

As you have mentioned in your address, you have been serving the people of this town for many years and the city has been making progress all this time. I would like to congratulate you for all the facilities such as water supply, electricity, hospital, college and particularly the amenities for the poor sweepers provided by you and of which you have made a reference in your address. I hope that you will continue to serve the people of this town with the same success and earnestness and that you would be able to maintain the status of your town just as you have done in the past.

India has undergone such vast changes in the last few years that the shape of things in this country is now entirely different from what it was. Our way of achieving *Swaraj* has not led to that kind of upheaval which usually follows when freedom is won by armed revolution. Here we have been able to obtain a going governmental concern and we are now running it. It is no doubt true that, with the transfer of power, many troubles also followed and many calamities occurred. We have faced them all with courage and success and it is my conviction that God willing we shall successfully weather all the storms that the future may have in store for us. It is my earnest appeal to the people of this country that they should realise their greatly increased responsibilities after the achievement of freedom. A few years ago, whenever there was any difficulty, any trouble or any complaint, or if things went wrong we could blame others. We used to do so and rightly. But this is no more the case. Now, it is in your power to make or mar your destiny. If you are able to achieve something good and great, the credit will be yours and if things go wrong you will have to bear the blame as well. It is therefore essential that the people of this country should realise their responsibilities. In this connection, I would like to point out that

Reply to the civic address presented by the Simla Municipality on September 27, 1950.

if we are able to act according to the Constitution which has been adopted and to which you have made a reference in your address, I am sure we shall be able very soon to make our country great. This is a goal which is within our power to reach, but its realisation would require hard physical and mental labour and above all great moral regeneration.

It is a commonly observed fact that the character of a people suffers deterioration under prolonged subjection to foreign rule. Beyond doubt, many of the shortcomings which we had and which were not evident before are now becoming manifest. It is our duty now to master these short-comings and devote ourselves to the service of the people—be they of any caste or race. It is only then that we will be able to succeed.

You have mentioned in your address that no Indian was permitted to move on the roads of Simla during the British regime unless he was dressed in the European style. This humiliation was not peculiar to Simla, for, even places where there was no such formal prohibition for the people, they were obliged to dress in European style under the same compulsion of circumstances under which the people of Simla had to do so. At that time, conditions were such as to compel people to give up their own ancient culture and civilisation and imitate the foreigners. But all this must now change. We have to take all these matters into consideration and bring about a radical change. I do not mean that we have nothing to learn from foreign countries. We would certainly keep many things that are foreign but only by making them our own. We would keep them not because we are their slaves but because they would be at our service. If we act upon this policy, I am sure, we can build up a new civilisation which, if not more glorious than our ancient civilisation, shall not in any case be inferior to it. We take great pride in our ancient past and I should say rightly, but that does not mean that we should refuse to adopt new ideas and modern things. We may remain loyal to our ancient traditions but, at the same time, I want to emphasise that we should not be blind to the world of new ideas.

The partition of the country had a calamitous effect on hundreds of thousands of people in this part of the country. Their troubles have not yet come to an end and they are still passing their lives under difficult conditions, but it is in adversity that the mettle of men is tested. It may well be that the courage and fortitude with which this calamity has been faced and mastered by our people may not be properly appreciated today by some of us. But, I am sure history will give due credit to them. I do not in the least suggest that all grievances and complaints have successfully been met. I know that there are many grievances today.

I also know that many will remain for some time to come. But if we take the picture as a whole into consideration we will find that, notwithstanding our failings and falterings, we have been making steady progress in solving the problem. We should remain firm in our purpose and pursue the path laid down for us by Gandhiji. With complete unity among ourselves, the problems and difficulties that we face today, I am sure, would very soon be overcome completely.

You have raised an interesting question in your address. You have said that formerly Simla used to be the summer headquarters of the Government of India for six months and now the Punjab Government and the Himachal Pradesh Government have their headquarters here. You have expressed an apprehension that when the Punjab Government shifts to Chandigarh, your city will lose much of its prosperity and importance and you would thus suffer a great loss. In this connection, I would like to remind you that when the British people were ruling here, it was our constant criticism that they were wasting a huge amount of public money by their periodical summer exodus to Simla. I hope you can appreciate that now it will not be possible for us to do what we so strongly condemned in our foreign rulers. It is therefore plain that there is no possibility of the whole Secretariat of the Government of India moving to Simla again. Even then, I find that there are a number of Government of India offices located in your town. The office of the Auditor-General of India, whom I find sitting here, is also in your town. It is probable that other Secretariat offices may also have to be located in Simla and I know that the existing offices would remain here. I do not mean that any office which seeks to move away from Simla would be compelled to remain here. All the same, things being what they are, a number of offices are bound to remain here. I understand that this is not your worry alone but also of many other stations in the hills which used to be the capitals of the then Provincial Governments. It is my feeling that you should make an effort and see that the importance of your town does not depend wholly on its being a governmental centre. You should make your town an attractive centre for people who want to come for sight-seeing or for improvement of their health. If the town remains conducive to good health, I am sure, people would continue to come and your city would flourish.



Addressing the Fuel Research Institute, Dhanbad on April 22, 1950



At a reception given by the Indian National Consolidation and Peace Organisation in New Delhi on August 21, 1950

Speaking at the Indian School of Mines and Applied Geology, Dhanbad on April 21, 1950

At the Buddha Vihar, New Delhi on August 21, 1950





With the staff of the Indian Agricultural Research Institute.
New Delhi on August 30, 1950

I know that the State of Punjab has had to pass through many a trouble and tribulation recently and her difficulties have not come to an end as yet. I have received reports confirming the fact that those who had to pass through the travail of partition faced their troubles with great fortitude and courage. The people on this State have also exhibited great sympathy for these unfortunate people and have helped them to their utmost capacity. I understand that the Government of this State has also, in its own way, successfully striven to bring about order in the chaos that was reigning and has succeeded to such an extent that it can be said to have reached the level of efficiency which the big States possess. I know that it is no easy task to compensate the people for the losses that they had to suffer on account of the partition and it may well be that it is not found possible to compensate them fully at any time even in the future. Even then, every attempt is being made to provide to them as much relief as possible.

In this connection, however, I would like to place before you Gandhiji's view which he often used to reiterate. He used to say that if one wanted really to serve his country and its people, it was essential for him to concentrate on service, that is to say, he should think of service and service alone and not of any other gain or advantage for himself. True service can be performed only when a person is sincerely and single-mindedly devoted to the cause of service itself.

It is a well-known fact that in every country where a democratic government exists, representatives to the legislature are elected by the people. Such representatives should be honest servants of the people and should have no other aim before them except the service of the people. The only way by which you can escape all the troubles and difficulties which have befallen your lot is to act in the spirit of dedication and service. In the Constitution that we have adopted for our country, it has been provided that every adult citizen shall have the right of voting in the election of representatives. It is our expectation that honest and sincere people would be elected to the legislatures. I also hope that these people would work to promote the interests and welfare of the people.

There is, however, one matter to which I would like to draw your attention pointedly. The Constitution, as it is today, implies the existence of a party system similar to that of Great Britain. I do hope that our Government would also function as it does in Great Britain. In this connection, I would like to emphasise the fact, which is often forgotten, that parties can be of different types. Factional groups which

often develop in our country cannot be termed parties in the right sense of the term. A political party, to my mind, means a group which has got a clear-cut programme of its own—a programme conceived in the interests and for the well-being of the people. There cannot be any objection to the establishment of a party of this kind. There can, of course, be differences between parties but the growth of selfish factions and groups of the type we find these days is extremely reprehensible.

I would like that when you assemble in this hall to deliberate over the problems that are facing the Punjab State, you should keep your eyes on the portrait of Gandhiji and derive inspiration from it. It had always been the view of Gandhiji that those in power should be true servants of the people. I may here refer to what I used to say before I assumed this office—though it may not appear very nice today—that true servants of the people should always be ready to work in the villages or to go to prison or even assume office as and when directed to do so by Gandhiji. If so desired by him, a true worker would not hesitate even to undertake the job of a *harijan*. They are, in fact, different aspects of public and national service. I believe that the work that a volunteer does when he goes to clean a village, has the same nobility and the same high purpose which characterises the work of those occupying high executive posts. I personally feel that I would have no hesitation in taking up the work of a volunteer in a village if so desired by the country. If we serve the country in this spirit, keeping before us the teachings of Gandhiji, I am sure we would be able to serve it much more effectively than otherwise. Truth and non-violence were the basic tenets of Gandhiji's creed and I would urge upon you that you should keep them always in your view. Then alone would you be able to serve the cause for which the people send you here.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES

You are all going to take up great responsibilities in your respective spheres. These responsibilities are other than those merely administrative. After all nothing can be achieved by administration alone. What is really wanted from you is national service which is a combination of honesty and efficiency. You will have to do all kinds of work. As a part of your administrative duties, you may be called upon to work like Seva Samiti workers and help in the rehabilitation of homeless refugees. You may have to take charge of areas which may have been badly affected by some natural calamity. You may be called upon to do various other kinds of work. I know people of the old cadre of the Indian Civil Service to whom every sort of work was entrusted. There were among them some Indians also. I remember one Mr. H. C. Dutta, who started his career as a Magistrate and retired as a Chief Commissioner. While in Government service, he wrote many books including Bengali novels of great historical interest and translated portions of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. He accomplished all this in the little leisure he could get from his magisterial duties. Another member of the I.C.S., Mr. Vincent Smith, was an expert in Indian languages. His books are used in all the universities, colleges and schools. I am sure all of you must have heard of Mr. Wilson. He put in thirty years of service. Even after his retirement, he continued to take an interest not only in Indian languages but in village dialects also. He has left behind a glossary of words which are of daily use in the villages. Take for example the plough. A plough has several parts, and one does not usually know even the Indian names for all these. But Mr. Wilson has given not only the English names but also the Hindi names of the different little parts. He has collected quite a large number of words in common use among villagers. He did all this in addition to his duties as an administrator responsible to the Government. You should also be able to find time for this kind of work. You must know and understand the people, mix with them and try to know what their difficulties are. Only then will it be possible for you to serve them as well as you are expected to.

When we were in jail they used to give us an "iron bowl" which served all possible purposes. One of our friends had given it the name of 'the civilian'. I think there was a great deal of truth in that. I want

Speech delivered to the members of the Indian Administrative Service at Metcalfe House, Delhi, on October 10, 1950.

you to be civilians in the sense in which the "iron bowl" was—simple, yet capable of performing efficiently as many duties as possible. You must carry this ideal with you. Formerly, of course, there were other functions also which the civil servants were required to do. But, today, your duties as rulers are less important than your duties as servants. You should have sympathy and interest in the people to be able to serve them in the true sense of the term. The real meaning of service is to be helpful to the people. You are, of course, to a certain extent, expected to rule also. But, only if you yourself are disciplined can you enforce discipline on others. Therefore, while expecting discipline from others, you yourself cannot afford to be indisciplined.

Great things are expected from you. It is you civilians who can make India a great country. No government can do much unless the civilians who are its limbs, do their work honestly and efficiently. It is, therefore, necessary that you should act with imagination and vision. Just think of what you can contribute towards shaping the India of tomorrow. Visualise your country as you would like her to be. It is your business to create such an India and if you have imagination and are efficient, you will make India really great. You are, naturally, a sort of symbol for the people. Do not, therefore, think of your prospects only. Leave the fruits of your work to God. While we were fighting against foreign rule, we put great emphasis on the rights we had yet to acquire. But now when we have won our rights, we should think more of our duties. Rights are born of duties. Duties well performed will ensure rights. Therefore, if you work in this spirit, you will give a worthy account of yourself.

People are not quite satisfied with what we have achieved so far. We are in a period of transition and have not been able to achieve many things. Therefore, though complaints are neither unexpected nor unnatural, they have to be removed. There are many complaints of corruption and black-marketing. None of these malpractices is a passive, one-sided affair. Black-marketers exist because of their customers. There can be no black-marketing if there are no customers. Similarly, an official could not be corrupt and receive bribes without there being people who give them to him. It is unfair to blame one party and leave the other party free. The correct attitude, always, would be to look within and find out whether the fault is in one's own self or not. Generally, people think that they alone are right. There is something wrong in such an attitude.

You should not be influenced by any other consideration except those in the interest of administration and you should brook no interference in the discharge of your duties except from your superiors. You should resist any other interference. Your resistance to interference will give strength to your fellow officers. Whatever be the threat accompanying the interference, you should fearlessly continue to serve the Government loyally and faithfully.

THE MORAL PROBLEM

We in this country have a very old tradition of continence—full and complete. It has been enjoined on men and women and is one of the religious teachings of the Hindus. This continence, according to Hindu religious texts, is capable of lifting a man to the position of gods.

I remember a conversation which Mahatmaji was having with a friend on this question. He was, in those days, writing a series of articles—brought out together in a book on *Self-restraint vs. Self-indulgence*. The question was agitating the people greatly. 'You insist upon continence in the case of married people also, but how is the race to continue?', asked the friend. Gandhiji said, "Do not worry about the race. Continence will not be practised to that extent. If they practise it to that extent, then they will cease to be men and become gods. That was our ideal and if that ideal is followed by the people, they will benefit to the extent to which they practise it."

In spite, however, of the fact that most people try to practise self-restraint, we find that immorality has spread in this country. We cannot ignore the facts and cannot shut our eyes to the reality. It is, therefore, necessary to consider this in a practical way. You have, as an international organisation, to consider this in a scientific way by collecting statistics, trying to analyse the causes and finding out how best to remedy them. I think that is the right approach. Even at the present moment when we have so many difficulties, this problem should not be ignored. In fact, we cannot ignore it.

You have rightly said that this problem has become more acute on account of a certain upheaval that has been created in our social life by the partition. Even apart from this, our social ideas are more or less in a melting pot, our ideals and moral standards are undergoing much change. In this country, we have certain fundamental moral concepts which are more or less self-evident postulates. Now, people are inclined to question them. There are people who not only question them, but who regard them as reactionary and sometimes even condemn them. My plea is that you should recognise what is good in these concepts and try, as far as possible, to remove the defects instead of trying to build a new social fabric about the soundness of which we cannot be sure, because it is after all a matter of experiment. I may be old-fashioned, but I feel that

Speech delivered while inaugurating the Conference of the All India Moral and Social Hygiene on October 19, 1950.

we should rather build upon our old foundations than go along an altogether new path which may be quite good for other countries.

We have to face the moral problem as a social evil. To my mind, the most obvious cause of this evil is the upsetting of the standard of continence which, we in this country, used to observe. In spite of that high standard of moral restraint we have this evil. If the restraints are removed, I do not know where we shall be and to what extent we may go down. I am, therefore, anxious that something should be done to check the fall. I am rather suspicious of too much modernisation and request you to remember that modernisation should be based only upon what has been tried and found to be useful in the past. I may, in this connection, refer to the influence of the cinema. Modern films have played havoc with our society in general and particularly with young boys and girls. If I had the power, I would stop the exhibition of films which create sexual lust. I would also stop free mixing between the sexes which is opposed to customary restraint. It is prevalent in foreign countries where it has been in practice for centuries, but its introduction here is bound to upset our social life.

We shall have to tackle this problem at its root. This cannot be done by legislation. Legislation has its values, but it cannot root out this evil. It is the individual's own moral standard, his own diagnosis of the situation, his own way of looking at things which really matters. I hope you will restore the high standard of continence and bring about an atmosphere in which real strength is to be won by restraints which are enjoined upon us. I think, unless we do this, we shall be swept away by the current of demoralisation. Sometimes, I wonder if the attention of the people has really been drawn to this evil, to the extent to which it ought to have been. Many years ago, I felt that I should write a book dealing with the lives of a dozen typical women, who are induced to lead an immoral life. But, I could not do so because I had no courage to come in contact with persons who could give correct information of that kind. But I do feel that a book like that must be written and the writer should try to show the bad effect of immoral living. It will create a revolutionary change in the outlook of the people. We must, sympathetically, expose the evil which we want to eradicate. It will go a long way in rousing the public conscience and in creating a healthy atmosphere. A high standard of social hygiene is required not only in this matter but in others, too. Our moral standard has suffered a setback and we have to restore it to its former position. We must create a situation in which such things may become impossible.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

I am really very glad today to be in the midst of so many bright young people. It is not often that I can have the exhilarating opportunity of coming into contact with the future torch-bearers of our country. Naturally, any such meeting with these soldiers of the future comes to me like a breath of fresh air into the cloistered rooms of office. They appear to me to be a resurrection—the resurrection of that past when the world was so new, so fresh and so wonderful to me. But, even more than that, they are to me the promise of the future. Their bright faces reveal to me the shape of things to come in my country and in the world. Their youth is an eternally binding promise to me that even after we, who are now approaching the end of the scriptural span of life, have been called away to render an account of our days, the cause which alone gave substance to our being and significance and purpose to our lives, would continue to be upheld for all time to come.

It is because I feel in this way that I like the young to receive their training for the great and glorious mission in institutions which have a clear conception of the role of youth in human society. The founder of this Institution, the late S. R. Das—in the circumstances of his times—had felt that India needed Public Schools for the proper training of its youths and in that faith had conceived the plan of this institution. Since then, the world has witnessed many significant changes in the realm of knowledge and institutions. It is, therefore, natural that under the pressure of the changed social environment, there should be an insistent demand for a change in the educational organisation and methods.

You have referred to the criticism that is being levelled today in England against the system of Public Schools. I think that the Public School, if it is to continue to play an effective and beneficent role in society, has to take stock of the view-point of critics and remove such defects as have been discovered in its organisation. Whatever the criticism of public schools elsewhere may be, one obvious criticism in this country is that it is apt to develop a sense of exclusiveness—a superiority complex if you like to call it—among its alumni. This can be met by bringing the system in line with the life that the people of this country live. This is not only possible but is indeed one of the basic ideas underlying a Public School.

Speech on the occasion of the annual Founder's Day Celebrations of the Doon School at Dehra Dun on October 22, 1950.

So far as I know, the criticism of the Public School proceeds on two lines—one purely educational and the other social. The critics allege that the internal organisation of the Public Schools leads to very great suppression and oppression of the new entrants, leading ultimately to the blunting of their finer sensibilities and brutalising of their outlook on life. The critics urge that the Public School, far from being an instrument of culture, is but a vehicle of barbarism. The other attack on it comes from those who stand for social equality. They feel that the Public School is a class institution seeking to perpetuate those characteristics which the ruling class considers essential for the continued maintenance of its authority over the subject classes. Its emphasis on horse-riding, sports, individual competition and rivalry and such other features, proceeds from the basic assumption that its alumni are to be trained for domination over subject peoples. While I feel that there is much truth in these criticisms, yet I agree with you, Mr. Head Master, that the public school has a great part to play in the shaping of the future society.

If I have understood its nature aright, I may say that the fundamental feature of the Public School—a feature which distinguishes it from other kinds of educational institutions—is its corporate life. Ordinarily, educational institutions are considered to be tutorial institutes where the children receive instruction in the three R's, which do not concern themselves with their total personality. The Public School, on the other hand, rests on the idea that education consists not merely in picking up some crumbs of information with regard to certain aspects of life but in the development of the total personality of the child through a habituation of the child to certain patterns of conduct. The enrichment of his mind is done by familiarising him with great works of art and science, the sharpening of his intelligence through the clash of mind and muscle in the class-room, the lecture-hall and the game-field, the building up of a vigorous physical frame through hard exercise and the development of a sense of solidarity with his fellows by actually living, working and playing with them. In other words, the Public School rests on the idea that it is not books so much as life properly organised which is the most potent source of culture. I think that this emphasis on corporate living is a precious idea—an idea which is going to play an increasingly important role in the realm of culture in the future history of mankind. But, if this idea is really to be fruitful, it is necessary that the organisation of the Public School should be adjusted to the new discoveries of modern social or group psychology—discoveries with which Arnold, the Father of the

Public School was not familiar—and to the demands of the modern civilisation. I am glad to find from your report that you have already taken steps in this direction and have removed some of the features of the Public School system which had been most adversely commented upon.

I am glad to learn that the inmates of your institution have organised societies for spreading literacy, village service and volunteer relief. While these steps are in the right direction, I think more is necessary to make this institution a model public school in this country. I think that this change should consist in a closer integration of this institution with the life of the people of this country. This integration implies that the medium of instruction should be the language of the people of this land, that is, Hindi. I admit that, just at present, there are some difficulties. I would like, at the same time, to emphasise that every possible attempt should be made to overcome them at as early a time as possible. In any case, the teachers and students should make an attempt to use Hindi in as many aspects of their life as they possibly can. I should not be taken to mean that English should be eliminated. I have absolutely no prejudice against English. I consider that its knowledge helps us to acquaint ourselves with the thoughts of many countries and peoples—an advantage of no mean importance. Moreover, English shall continue for us as the language of international commerce and intercourse. It is thus plain that the knowledge of English is absolutely necessary and our children should continue to learn it. I, however, do imply that the notion that English is the medium of attaining power and position should gradually disappear. It should not be treated as the sole badge of respectability and culture. On the contrary, the children of this institution should grow up in the belief that they would be able to fulfil the mission of their lives only if they are proficient in the language which the vast majority of the common people of this land speak and understand. They should begin to have a feeling of love and pride for the tongue of their own people. I lay emphasis on this point because I feel that in the context of the democratic society we seek to build up in this country, it is essential that the psychological gulf which has come to exist between the English-educated and the other people of this country should completely disappear.

There has been, till recently, an unconscious assumption in the minds of those acquiring education through English that their main purpose in doing so was to approximate as nearly as possible to the English way of life. This attitude cut them off from the Indian people. Their dress,

speech, patterns of conduct, social values, tastes and hobbies, modes of recreation and enjoyment have all become entirely different and alien to those of the people. They became a kind of a new class or race in the land of their birth. I think that this development was extremely unhealthy and it is now time that it should be checked. We, in this country, have many problems to tackle. We can successfully tackle them only if the hearts of both the educated and the uneducated beat in unison. We shall not survive if our national personality remains cleft in this manner. That is why I feel that a radical change of outlook is necessary with regard to the medium of education in this institution as in others of this type in the country. My insistence on the language of the people is not for its own sake—not because I consider it superior, as a language, to English or any other language. My insistence flows from the conviction that for harnessing our people's energy to the work of building a democratic society and prosperous agriculture and industry in this country, it is absolutely necessary that there should be no gulf of ideas and ideals between the intelligentsia and the masses. This makes me feel that the public schools have not only to adopt Hindi in Hindi-speaking areas and the regional language of the people in the non-Hindi speaking areas as the medium of instruction but they have also to give much more importance than they do to the history, literature and patterns of social life in India.

I would strongly urge that you should see that your children are fed on the works of Balniki and Vyasa, Kalidas and Bhavabhuti, Tagore and Gandhi. I may repeat that I do not advocate this change in any narrow spirit of nationalism. I do so because I am convinced that each one of those whom I have just now named has sung of the great ideal of disinterested and creative service which mankind needs so much today. I believe that man in his quest after knowledge has reached a stage, where it has become absolutely necessary for his survival that all his actions—individual and social—should be influenced by this ideal of service.

The very magnitude of the power in the hands of man today has become a grave danger to him, if he continues to act in a spirit of self-assertion and self-aggrandisement. In the ages when his power was limited, such a course of self-aggrandisement did not involve the risk of the destruction of all humanity. Today, this danger is immediate and imminent. No person, no group, no nation can hope to use this power for its own aggrandisement without involving a total ruin not only of others but its own as well. It is, therefore, time that we began to lay emphasis on values other than those of assertion and aggrandisement.

A spirit of self-abnegation and humility, of service and sympathy is needed. It is time that they again became the vital springs of our being. This would happen only if children in such institutions, as this, began to get their spiritual nourishment from the literature of our own country. I may add that whatever difficulties may exist with regard to the adoption of the language of the people as the medium of instruction, there are none in the immediate adoption of Indian literature as the main subject of literary study. I, therefore, feel that this transformation has to be made immediately.

I know that mere study of literature would not habituate children to live up to these ideals. They may, through literature, see the grandeur of the ideals but they are not likely to develop the conviction that this grandeur can be their own. This conviction can be developed only if they begin to live according to the ideals in the school, the hostel, the game-field and in life generally. A corresponding change should, therefore, be made in the pattern of life and work of the inmates of this institution. They should above all be made to undertake some creative work.

It is a matter of genuine pleasure to me that students of this institution have taken to village service and spread of literacy. I think that this work should become an integral part of this institution's curriculum. It is then that it would become the fountain-head of a human stream that would flow on and on for ever. Before I conclude, I would like to assure you that you have my wishes and prayers for your success in the fulfilment of this great and glorious mission. I would like to join you all in paying my homage to S. R. Das, the founder of this institution. He is no more with us but I am sure that the hopes he had, would continue to spur you on to the service of many, many generations of children.

THE DUTIES OF LOCAL BODIES

I thank you heartily for the affectionate welcome that you have given me in this city. It is not the first time that I have come to Dehra Dun. In a way, I have become familiar with this city, having visited it several times. I remember that on a previous occasion also, you had very kindly presented me an address of welcome. Many changes have taken place between that day and today. Those who had seen Dehra Dun in the year 1923, when I came here for the first time and those who see it today will realise that a tremendous change has taken place, in the interval, in this city and in the country at large.

In India today, the first and foremost duty of local bodies, such as the municipalities and the district boards, is to do their utmost for the benefit of the people within their respective jurisdictions and to discharge their functions efficiently. The degree of efficiency is, in fact, the only test of their success. I think that their main concern should be sanitation and conservancy, the running of hospitals, the provision of education and the supply of good, healthy and unadulterated food, including milk. Besides these, the municipalities should pay special attention to ameliorating the condition of the poor people who, at present, live in slums within the municipal areas.

The function of the district boards is usually to keep the roads in good condition, to maintain and run hospitals and to provide education. It is also their function to help the people fight epidemics and aid in the improvement of agriculture and the conditions of life generally. Even if we do not, for the moment, take the State and Union Governments into consideration, it can be said that these local bodies have adequate powers whereby they can make a very great contribution towards making the people happy and prosperous.

The local bodies also provide an opportunity to the people to acquire training in administration. They can, by experience, gain a clear grasp and insight into the problems affecting the city and district administration. These problems relate not to an individual but to corporate groups and, therefore, local government serves as a training ground for public life. In England and many other countries, it has been found that those who are able to manage local affairs successfully, can do the same for the govern-

Reply to the civic address presented by the Dehra Dun Municipality on Sunday, October 22, 1950.

ment of the country. In this country, however, people running these institutions have not had many opportunities of showing their ability and experience in the national sphere. I feel, therefore, that it is your duty to train up people who are able, honest and sincere and are imbued with the spirit of service. I hope that the whole country will thus be able to benefit by such experience.

Our people, now, have complete power and sovereignty in their hands and it is for them to make or mar the future of the country. It is in this light that we have to assess our achievements and failure since the advent of freedom. People often complain—and with some truth—that poverty still stalks the land and that things are still very much what they used to be before we became free. If you think in terms of these complaints, you will, naturally, begin to think that there has been no change. I would therefore urge on you that, while thinking of the present situation in the country, you should keep in mind the short time that we have had to improve matters. Only eight or nine months have elapsed since India became a Republic. Even if we take into consideration the three years since the transfer of power, we should never lose sight of the great difficulties and calamities which we have had to face. The partition of the country took place the very day when we became free. Even if there were no other complications, it would not have been easy to solve the problems arising out of partition. Though the Government and the people did all they could to resettle these uprooted men and women, yet I cannot say that we have wholly succeeded in the task. Such a tremendous problem had never before been faced by any State or Government in the world. It is clear that the resettlement of 70 to 80 lakhs of uprooted people is no easy task. It is no doubt a matter of regret that we have not yet been able to resettle all these people, but, as I have said, we have been doing all that we can and shall continue to do so with the same intensity. Of course, there can be differences of opinion about the best way of tackling this problem. I can, however, honestly say that the utmost effort has been made to solve it. At the same time, I would like to express my admiration for the great courage and fortitude shown by the refugees whose number in this city is quite large. It may sound a cruel joke for one to express sympathy for the great sufferings that they have gone through. All the same, I know that all of us share their sorrows and sufferings as we should.

The last World War led to many kinds of breakdown in different walks of life. People seem to have forgotten civilised ways of behaviour. We had always been taught to live in peace and amity and to behave

with our fellowmen with decency and sympathy. This was considered to be the highest duty of man in this country. We have, however, deviated from this ideal today and there has been deterioration in our moral life. My remarks do not apply to any particular group but to people in general. What is the reason behind so much of black-marketing, bribery and corruption? Why is it that the people, who are engaged in preventing these evils or performing other duties, do not carry out their duties properly? No one can deny that these evils bode ill for our country. It is our duty to do all that we can to preserve our hard-won freedom. We can maintain it for our good and for the good of the world only by establishing high standards of conduct and by making the people happy and cheerful.

There are, no doubt, different ways of looking at things in the world. Many of us are under the impression that we would be able to secure happiness for ourselves if we have sufficient money and material. I do not think that this is true. No man can really be happy if he has only money or means of comfort. Often, the very rich are not happy. Real happiness comes from contentment, honesty and integrity. People should be sincere in their dealings with other people. It may well be said that there is no use repeating these words or homilies as they are already to be found in religious scriptures and books on morality. I think that the time has come when a reiteration of these values has become essential. If, in the interest of the people, it becomes necessary to reiterate them, we must do so. Therefore, when during my tours of the country I come across such complaints, I begin to wonder whether those who are making these complaints ever think of the share they have in these evils and to what extent they are responsible for them. If ever they paid the least attention to this aspect of the problem, I am sure, it would resolve itself very soon; unfortunately, we do not look to our own reform and instead seek to reform others over whom we have no power or control. We cannot succeed in reforming others by criticising them. Hence, I feel that all those who are engaged in the service of the country, whether as government servants or as Ministers or in any other capacity, should devotedly fulfil their responsibilities. They should always keep in mind their duties and the best way of discharging them. Instead of trying to criticise and blame others, they should try to improve themselves. I think by doing so we would be able to bring about a real reform.

I thank you all for having given me this opportunity to express my views before you and it is my earnest desire that you should deeply ponder

over these matters and prepare yourselves to shoulder the heavy responsibility which has fallen on all of us in this country. We have secured freedom, but we have now before us, the more difficult task of preserving it. I would, therefore, urge upon you as members of the Municipal Board to devote yourselves to this task and to prove yourself equal to the heavy responsibility that history has placed on you.

JUDICIARY—THE GUARDIAN OF DEMOCRACY

When His Excellency Sri Katju communicated to me a desire on the part of the members of this Association that I should take the opportunity of meeting them during this tour, I did not take even five minutes to make a decision. I felt that in going to the Bar Association once again, I would not only be fulfilling a duty but would also be able to meet friends including the Chief Justice and the judges—one of whom is an old friend of mine. Besides, this was a chance to become acquainted with others who were not here when I left this Bar. Since the moment I entered this hall, I have been straining my eyes to spot familiar faces. I have been able to spot some but the faces have changed.

You have been good enough to remind me of the old happy days I spent in this High Court as a junior member of the profession. In this very hall, where other stalwarts used to sit, I used to occupy a corner as a junior. You have brought back to my mind memories, not only of the days which I spent here, but also of earlier days which I spent in this city, in the Hindu Hostel and in the Calcutta Presidency College. I am reminded of many friends some of whom, alas, are no more and of others who have had to undergo indescribable suffering in recent times and a few of whom perhaps I do not now recognise. I owe so much to Calcutta, to the Presidency College, to the Hindu Hostel, to the Calcutta High Court, to many friends and to Bengal in general, that I can never hope to repay the debt I owe them. If I have been fortunate enough to be of some service to the country, I may tell you—and it is no secret to those who have known me since those days—that the inspiration came from Bengal. I stayed five years in this High Court and four or five years in the Patna High Court. Now I feel that I was only delaying a decision on account of my weakness. The inspiration should have led me earlier to other fields to which I did actually go later. If it has pleased God now to give this country freedom and to place me in this position, which is a high one, I can only recall those early days and thank God and my friends for all that I owe them.

You have said so many things about law, lawyers and judges. I do not think that it is necessary for me to say anything on these subjects. All that I can say is that the framers of our Constitution have had one

Speech delivered in reply to the addresses of welcome presented on behalf of the Calcutta Bar Association and the Judges of the Calcutta High Court on October 31, 1950.

objective before them and that was to make this a democratic country where every one should be free to follow his religion and his profession and to develop his talents as he thought best. In framing this Constitution, we have laid down fundamental rights which, now and then, come up before the courts and give the Judiciary an opportunity to set aside something which the Government, of which I am supposed to be the head, may have done. I can assure you that we do not take this amiss. I am disclosing no secret when I tell you that every member of the Constituent Assembly was inspired, all through those two or three years that we were engaged in framing the Constitution, by the feeling that we must make our judiciary completely independent. We must make the judiciary the final arbiter not only between individuals but between the State and individuals and, what is more, between the Legislature and the Government. Whatever be the inconveniences that may be felt in the beginning, I have no doubt that in course of time we shall evolve a constitution, based upon this written Constitution, which will stand the test of time and of which the generations to come may justly be proud. You, the members of the Bar, have your part to play in the development of the constitutional history of our country. Of course, the Honourable Judges have a determining voice in many matters. I have no doubt that the Bench and the Bar will maintain the high tradition which has been built up in course of hundreds of years. This Court has a tradition of which we are all proud. I am quite sure that, in the future, this Court will continue to play the same role which it has played in the past in maintaining the best traditions of the judiciary.

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS

It is a matter of gratification to me that I have been able to associate myself with this Conference. You are aware of my interest in the work of this Society from its very inception and my interest in it has grown with the years. I am glad to see that during the four years of its existence, the Society has made considerable progress and its utility and service have been generally recognised. I am also glad to see that your work, published in your journals, has been recognised not only in this country but in other countries as well. It is, indeed, heartening to know that all those who are interested in agriculture take a keen interest in the work of a Society like this.

We know that the whole question of planning is dependant more or less on correct statistical data. When we deal with a vast country like India, with its great variations in the quality of the soil and in the nature of the people, we have to be very careful in collecting statistics which would give us accurate data for making plans for the future. Last year, I drew your attention to some aspects of agricultural statistics. I mentioned to you that I would welcome statistics with regard to the cost of agricultural produce, particularly of the sugar-cane crop.

You have been evolving the method of random sample surveys and I understand that you have been able to devise a plan which gives accurate data. So far, you have confined your work only to two crops, namely, rice and wheat, but I feel that our information on agricultural produce will not be complete until we have covered all the crops. You have also very largely confined your activities to statistics regarding produce and you have not covered the area under cultivation. The latter, I think, is as necessary and essential for a correct estimate of our food requirements and our food supplies as statistics about the produce. Unless we know the exact acreage under various crops, we cannot get complete figures about the produce from all crops in these areas. It is therefore a good thing that a scheme has been drawn up by the Government, which will help you collect these statistics.

The difficulty in collecting information regarding the area under cultivation is very great. We have also a system of land revenue administration by which the village *patwari* collects such information. The information that is collected by him, if the man is honest and efficient,

Speech delivered while inaugurating the fourth annual meeting of the Indian Society of Agricultural Statistics in New Delhi on November 14, 1950.

is ordinarily expected to be accurate. But it requires supervision and, although some kind of supervision is exercised, it may not always be as good as one would wish it to be. The application of the method of random sample surveys in testing the accuracy of the data collected by these village *patwaris* will be, I am sure, of great help and I should like it to be extended to those areas to make the information collected by the *patwaris* as accurate as possible. There are other areas where the work is more difficult. These are the cadastrally surveyed areas where there is no agency to collect information. I do not know when it will be possible to have the same kind of rural organisation for collecting information as we have in other parts. But the most difficult areas are those which are not surveyed nor is there any agency for doing the work. These are not small areas, because a very large number of States which have acceded to the Indian Union have no survey organisation. Our statistical information regarding food will not be complete unless we cover the whole country and get information both as regards area and produce.

There is another aspect of the question which has to be investigated. We have, for some years, laid great emphasis and spent large sums of money on the Grow More Food campaign. We have achieved certain results but I do not know how far these results are accurate. These are reached by finding out what the increase in the produce is likely to be by the application of a particular method, as for example, the introduction of improved seeds, better manure, better irrigation facilities and the application of improved methods of cultivation. I think the only way in which increased yield is calculated at present is by multiplying the unit by the number of maunds which one acre is expected to produce. I am not sure if it is a very good method, because the application of these improved methods depends upon several factors in which the human factor is very important. We do not know how far the individual cultivator does employ, in the right quantity, the better seed that is given to him. We also do not know whether the soil is best suited for that particular seed or whether the manure is properly used. But to enable the Government to form a correct estimate of the increased produce, it is necessary to find out what the increase has actually been. I do not think it is possible to meet every agriculturist and to find out from him what he was producing before and what he is producing now. I trust that you will be able to help the Government by statistical methods for assessing the value of this campaign. I know that in some cases we have been misled by the method of multiplication. This simple method, in certain parts of the country, has led to the conclusion that we have pro-

duced enough grain to meet the deficit. I was not surprised when ultimately these conclusions were belied because the method though simple is not always accurate. It is for you to supply the Government with the data necessary to arrive at correct conclusions.

There is another thing to which I would like to draw your attention. I have heard that in some parts, which I have visited recently, the transfer of land from rice cultivation to jute is responsible for a large deficit in food. I do not know how far this statement is correct. I do not even know whether correct figures regarding the transference of land from rice to jute or from cotton to other food crops are known. But, even if the figures are correct, it does not necessarily follow that any deficit which occurs in food can be attributed to this fact. During the war, a great part of the land under cotton cultivation, particularly in Bombay and the Central Provinces, was taken over for food crops. I do not know if there was a corresponding increase in food production in those areas as one should have expected. Similarly, at the present moment, when there is a drive for the cultivation of more cotton and jute, we have to see the extent of its effect on our food supplies. In following statistical methods we have to be careful in arriving at conclusions which would enable the Government to assess the real situation.

Yet another aspect which will require your attention will be the improvement which can be brought about by consolidation of holdings. I am told that such statistics as are available do not lead to the conclusion that larger holdings necessarily result in larger yields. You will have to judge the result of the application of large-scale cultivation and to see to what extent increase in the size of holdings results in a proportionate increase in the yield per acre. Similarly, there is a difference of opinion amongst scientists with regard to the application of deep ploughing by tractors and other machinery. There are some who hold that deep ploughing and improved cultivation leads to greater yield while there are others who hold that it may result in larger yields for some time, but ultimately the earth gets exhausted. We have to consider this aspect of the question also. It may be that our Agriculture Department, with the help of statisticians, may be able to judge the result of these improved methods of cultivation over a long period and to see whether the yield goes up or comes down.

These aspects of agriculture can all be dealt with by statisticians and I, therefore, welcome the work which your Society has been doing. I hope it will get encouragement from all quarters, including the Government and will be able to give better service as time goes by.

THE FOOD PROBLEM

The problem of food is one in which every individual takes or at least should take interest, for, everybody stands in need of food. Our misfortune is that, even though India is a predominantly agricultural country, we are not able to produce sufficient food for our people and we are compelled to import it from other countries. The position this year is much worse because of the great havoc caused to the crops first by the floods and heavy rains and later by the failure of rains. As a result, even the next crop was considerably damaged. It is, therefore, the duty of every one of us to help the country tide over this food crisis. We should try to pull through with whatever locally grown and imported food we have.

The proposal was made to me for setting up an organisation of women which should point out to the people the desirability of adopting some changes in their diets so as to make the best use of the available food and advise housewives how to avoid wastage. I at once agreed that such an organisation would prove very useful. I am very pleased that this organisation was set up and has made great progress in the last few months.

The exhibition that you have come to witness today, I understand, shows how the most nutritious non-cereal diet can be prepared at the lowest cost. I hope it will prove of great benefit and advantage to you. As Mrs. Munshi has remarked, if all the wastage that usually occurs in our homes is stopped and if people slightly change or modify their dietary habits and remain content with what they get, the food crisis can easily be tackled and overcome. I do not think the problem is insurmountable. If we really try and do all that we should, I think the whole problem can be easily solved. The deficit in our food production is estimated at about ten per cent of our requirements. As against our requirement of 100 maunds we are producing only 90 maunds. If our peasantry sets its heart to increase production, it will not, I think, be very difficult for it to wipe out the slight deficit. While one way of getting over the difficulty is to increase the production, the other way is to prevent the loss that occurs annually in our crops on account of pests and mice and in numerous other ways. Even if we could avoid the wastage of food in every home it would mean a great saving of foodstuffs. My feeling is that our present system of serving food is wasteful, particularly on the occasion of feasts

Translation of speech delivered in Hindi at the opening of the Food Exhibition, at the Town Hall, Delhi, on December 1, 1950.

and receptions. Usually, on such occasions, food that is enough for four people is served to one person and thus wastage becomes inevitable.

In certain regions of our country, the people are rice-eating, while in others they are wheat-eating. If wheat is supplied to people habituated to rice and if rice is supplied to people habituated to wheat, they do not like it. But, I think that the time has now come when some modification in this attitude is essential. We should now resolve to meet all our requirements from whatever is available. We can meet the deficit by producing other crops. It may be conceded that India has a deficit in cereals, but a man gets nourishment not only from cereals but also from fruits such as the banana and the papaya. They mature in an year's time and therefore the cultivation of such fruit plants can be of very great use to us. Tubers and roots can also be of great help. Our people are in the habit of taking these tubers and roots since very ancient times whenever they observe a fast. We may thus depend on potato, sweet potato and such other tubers as are produced in the South near the Travancore State. They are all very nutritious and we can easily cultivate a taste for them. I believe that if our people took to such foodstuffs, we could pass through the crisis successfully. Even now, many poor people eat them as their staple diet. If we take to these—not under a sense of compulsion but with the conviction that they are very nutritious—the deficit in wheat and rice can be easily met. I think that every family should now acquaint itself with making the best use of such tubers and roots. I would like this organisation to carry on propaganda for this purpose. This exhibition has been planned with this very purpose in view. Every one needs this knowledge because our country is poor, while the prices of food materials are rising to an extent which we could not even imagine previously. When I was a student, we used to get 15 seers of rice for a rupee, but now rice is selling at the rate of Rs. 40 a maund. In those days, ghee used to sell at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers to a rupee, whereas, in Delhi now it sells at Rs. 7 or Rs. 7-8-0 a seer. The poor, particularly members of the middle-class families with fixed incomes, have to make both ends meet within their small income. They have, somehow, to secure the necessary food and other commodities to satisfy their basic needs. I am pleased to learn that quite a nutritious diet can be provided at the cost of annas eight only. This would be clear to you when you see this exhibition. The poor people would thus be able to meet their needs by the adoption of these cheap diets. It is a matter of great satisfaction to me that this organisation, sponsored by Mrs. Munshi, has made much progress and I hope that it will continue to make its contribution to the solution of the food problem.

THE PRESS IN NATIONAL LIFE

It is a great pleasure to be with you this morning. Let me begin with a word of greeting and congratulation. I congratulate your organisation on the success it has achieved during the short period of its existence. We know that, within recent times, we have had many difficulties and our Press has had its full share of them. However, since the advent of freedom many changes have come in and I am glad that you are now in a position to take advantage of the changed circumstances. In our approach to the electorate, which by its very magnitude is likely to frighten many of us, the position and the influence of the newspaper cannot be exaggerated. I am glad to see that you have realised that the position and influence of the Indian language newspapers will grow from day to day and that in two successive sessions you have elected Presidents who have been associated with them. I have no doubt that, in due course of time, the Indian language press will come to play a much more important role in the affairs of our country. It is up to you to ensure that it does its best for the good of the country.

In my view, newspapers have to perform two functions : they have to serve as purveyors of news and they have also to form public opinion. In the execution of both these functions you have an important role, especially in a country where democracy is in its infancy. I need hardly tell you that, so far as news is concerned, we want nothing more than a correct presentation of facts. It is, unfortunately, true that in some cases facts are imagined without any fault on the part of anybody. Perhaps, there is such a thing as bias or wishful thinking and it may very often happen that newspapermen, even experienced newspapermen, may sometimes be misled. Nobody can blame them if they are so misled, but what we do want and do expect them to do is to strictly adhere to the truth in the presentation of facts.

With regard to views, the position is different. You are free to express and to hold whatever opinion you like and our Constitution has given you the freedom to express your views. I am glad that, on the whole, our newspapers have been performing this function with a great deal of success. On any particular question it is not to be expected that there will be agreement among newspapermen and the people or even among all the newspapermen themselves. Such a thing would be possible

Inaugural speech at the 9th Annual Session of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference at the Constitution Club, New Delhi, on December 2, 1950.

only in a totalitarian State, in a State where thought is regimented and expression strictly controlled. In a country which claims to be free, no one has the right to expect that opinions should be uniform. All that the public have a right to expect from you is to give expression to your views in a manner which will appeal to the reason rather than to the passions of your audience.

Your Conference has achieved great success in one sphere. It has served as a sort of liaison between the Government on the one side and the newspaper editors on the other. No one would wish that this liaison should in any way be regarded or treated as a kind of curb or check on your freedom of thought and freedom of expression and it cannot be denied that it has a value of its own. So long as understanding can be achieved by means of your organisation, it will serve a great purpose.

You have been able to effect a kind of liaison with our neighbour, Pakistan, through your organisation and I am glad that the effort that you made to bring about some understanding has succeeded to a considerable extent. There are difficulties and I am aware there are bound to be setbacks also. But, in spite of these difficulties and setbacks, if you stick to your viewpoint and express it honestly and fearlessly, keeping in mind the effect that the expression of your views may have on the public at large and on the relations that ought to subsist between two neighbours, there will be nothing wrong and you will, I have no doubt, be able to influence the action of your opposite numbers on the other side of the border.

I have therefore great hopes from your organisation. The world is as has been pointed out, now passing through very critical times. As a young nation we have been trying to establish contacts with foreign countries. We have been trying also to lay down a line of action, a line of policy of our own which is independent of other. It should be the function of the newspapers in this country to explain our viewpoint to other countries in such a way that they may not misunderstand us. In critical times like these, a single wrong word may create a situation which nobody would like. You have to be very careful in interpreting our policy as well as in interpreting the policy of other countries to us, so that there may not be any misunderstanding. It is not for me to suggest that you should keep yourselves fully informed because I know you do that. What I wish you to do is not to be anxious, on the least provocation, to give expression or publicity to all that you know. There are a great many things which you may know, but which need not be made known to all and sundry. I believe that in restraint you will find greater strength and you will be able to do greater service to your country.

EDUCATION AND OUR PRESENT NEEDS

I must, at the very outset, express my sense of obligation to you for having afforded me this opportunity of addressing a few words to the graduates who, after qualifying from this University, are about to assume the responsibilities of life. At the present moment, both India and the world are faced with very difficult and complicated problems for the solution of which, both the experience and the sobriety of the elders and the irrepressible enthusiasm, burning hopes, aspirations and energy of youth are needed. It is no exaggeration to say that the responsibility for rebuilding the world lies mainly on their shoulders. It is also quite evident that it is in their own interest to take up this task of reconstruction with a strong determination. Their success in life will depend mostly on the eagerness and skill with which they set themselves to the task.

It is your good fortune that you were able to make your mental and moral preparation for shouldering this responsibility in this University. It is a universally accepted truth that students unconsciously and, as a matter of course, derive as much knowledge from their social and cultural environment as they do from the lectures of their professors and from their text books. The richer this environment is, the more cultured and civilised does the life of the students become. Naturally, the boys and girls of this University must have derived an invaluable cultural benefit by having lived and studied here for, the environment of Delhi has some special qualities which are not to be found elsewhere. It is an incontrovertible truth that every nook and corner of this great city of Delhi reflects history. The echoes of the centuries reverberate in the historic ruins in its environs. There are, no doubt, many cities of great historic importance in India, but among them all, Delhi is unique. It is the meeting point of three important currents of history which, after originating in different places of the world have joined, in this historic city, to become one current which enriches and would continue to enrich the cultural life of the Indian people. The most ancient and undoubtedly the main current is the one which has been flowing from Vedic times (or perhaps even before) in our country and the life-giving waters of which have been satisfying the spiritual thirst of our people through all these centuries. It has enriched our life by inspiring it with lofty ideals, associated with great names which have become by-words in

Address delivered in Hindi at the Twenty-Eighth Convocation of the University of Delhi on December 9, 1950.

our sacred literature and ancient history. A synonym for faithfulness is Harishchandra; for sacrifice, Dadhichi; for surpassing pity, Shivi; for charity, Karna; for statesmanship, Rama; for disinterested service, Krishna; for *ahimsa*, the Buddha; and for '*dharma chakra*,' Asoka. There is not a single aspect of our life into which the ennobling and enriching effects of this current have not penetrated and it would not be an exaggeration to say, that, consciously or unconsciously, it is determining the direction of our life and thoughts even today. The other current is the one which had its source in Arabia and reached India about a thousand years ago. Flowing through the centuries, it joined with the first current. In this very city was born the composite language, dress, art, literature and ideology which are now the common property of the Hindus and the Muslims. It gave us Kabir's *Anhad Nad* or the 'Music of the Universe' as also Jayasi's love epic. It also gave us in marble the Taj—in eternal, unchanging form—the great sorrow of Shahjahan. Similarly, a few centuries ago, the third current came to our country from the distant West and mingled its waters with the others in Delhi. It has activated our life, enlarged its dimensions and given it a new pattern by means of modern science. In this way, each of these currents has enriched and ennobled our culture. You have had occasion to live and study at the confluence of these historic currents and naturally must have had the opportunity of immersing deep into their life-giving waters. At least, let me hope that you have fully availed yourself of that opportunity.

Delhi is the confluence point not only of these currents of history but also of the currents of people coming from different regions. People from all parts of India are settled here, so much so that there is not a single region or State of India whose domiciled citizens are not to be found in Delhi. It would not be incorrect to say that if any one wants to have a bird's eye view of our multi-lingual country with its many diversities, it would be sufficient for him to have a glimpse of Delhi, for, it is in every sense a microcosm of India. Such a person would find here every phase of India—the old and the new; the North and the South; the East and the West. This is not all. Recently, during the last three years one has come into contact, in this city of Delhi, not only with people from different parts of India but also of America, Russia, England, China, France, Burma and other countries of the world. Thus, Delhi is a city having a cosmopolitan culture and society. You too must have come into close contact with people of different regions of India and of the world by virtue of your having lived and studied in this city. Naturally, you must have had a practical realisation as to how necessary it is for the future of our country that these three currents of history should flow unitedly in

order to carry life and vitality to every one of our villages and cities, our homes and factories. You must have also clearly understood the great necessity of a unifying bond among persons of the different regions and communities of India which, though thinner than air, should be stronger than steel. I feel very strongly that we are face to face with the twin problems of cultural and regional harmony and we have to solve them with all the earnestness and care that we can command. It is my feeling that a university like that of Delhi and its students and graduates can play a very important role in the solution of this problem. It is needless for me to say that the University of Delhi has the same composite form and character as Delhi, because it is the cultural centre of the city. This University has students coming from all parts of India. Again, there are in it young men and women affected by one or more currents of history—it has people with both old and new-fangled ideas. Naturally, there is the problem of establishing harmony in the life and mental outlook of its students, belonging as they do to different cultures and traditions and different communities. Moreover, it is its responsibility to send young men and women who have achieved an integral harmony, as pioneers and soldiers of cultural and regional harmony to every part of India. This is the duty of this University as also of other universities of India, not merely for the sake of their internal harmony and smooth working but also for discharging their obligations as educational institutions.

The main object of education, in my opinion, is the establishment of a twofold harmony in every individual—harmony within his own self and harmony with other living beings in the whole world. It is no doubt true that in appearance every individual human being appears to be a single personality for the simple reason that we do not see him having two faces or eight hands and feet. But if the inner structure of an apparently single personality is examined, it would be found that instead of there being one, there are several beings in it. Our ancestors had imagined *Devas*, *Asuras* and human beings having ten, five or four heads. That was not a mere fantasy devoid of all reality. Behind it, there was the great psychological truth that in every individual, however well-integrated he may appear on the surface, there is always the possibility of there being a number of different personalities. This possibility arises simply because there does not exist a permanent and unbreakable natural harmony between the reason, the will and the physical appetites of an individual. Harmony in these different aspects of personality is brought about through training and knowledge. The establishment of such a harmony through knowledge, action and love used to be termed as *Yoga* in our country. It must also be remembered that harmony once

established by means of *Yoga* is not established for ever. The *Yogi* has to be ever vigilant to maintain this harmony through hard discipline and perseverance. If he fails to remain alert and vigilant even for a single moment he may lose all that he may have achieved through the hard labours of a life-time and may find himself in the grip of the Devil. It was for this reason that there was a saying in this country that it is either the *Yogi* or the *Bhogi* who remains awake and sleepless. The truth is that the *Yogi* never sleeps for he has to remain ever awake and alert in order that this inner spiritual harmony, by virtue of which alone his life finds fulfilment and he himself acquires perennial bliss and knowledge of the truth, should not break even for a moment. I believe that what was termed *Yoga* by our ancestors is what the universities have to provide to their students at the present time, for even modern educationists admit that the object of education is the establishment of a complete inner harmony so that there should not remain any split personality in the individual.

The danger of such a split personality exists ordinarily in every society and community, but it is much greater in a society in which there are several cultures, historical traditions and social systems. As I have already said, these diversities exist in our country and consequently there is every danger before us that the personalities of millions of our countrymen may remain split and dissociated. As long as that is the case, our society and country would remain a victim of internal jealousies, dissensions and differences and thus would not be in a position to achieve progress and prosperity. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary for us that we should take immediate steps to free our country from this danger as early as possible. It is, of course, very plain that this danger cannot be eliminated by the policeman's baton or the soldier's bayonet, nor can it be eliminated by means of the law or law courts. If it can be eliminated at all, it is only through good education and this can be done only by our universities. Unfortunately, however, the universities which exist in our country were established at a time when the aim of education was considered to be such knowledge of the English language, literature and law as could enable the educated people to find service in offices or to practise law in the courts. It was for this reason that in almost all the Indian Universities, English was kept as the medium of instruction and English literature as a compulsory subject. It is really an irony of history that the literature of our own country was an optional subject, while the literature of England was a compulsory subject for us. There has been practically no change in this respect even today. In most of the Universities, English language and English literature continue to be compulsory

subjects. I have absolutely no prejudice against English nor am I indifferent to the beauty of English literature. I myself, in my student days, thought it proper to study for the highest degree in the English language and literature. Whatever beauty they may possess, nobody can deny the fact that the result of people being compelled to study them compulsorily, while being permitted to remain ignorant of and indifferent to their own literature, has led to the development of the cramming habit among our students. There has been a long-standing complaint that they are habituated to cramming. But, I do not think that this is so because of any radical difference in their mental or physical make up as compared to that of the young men of other countries. I think that it was due to there being no harmony or contact between the education imparted in the Universities and their daily life that these students became strangers to their own traditional beliefs and their own culture and language. These Universities were undoubtedly situated physically on the land and under the sky of India, but in their spirit, they had more in common with England or Europe than with India. What was taught to them in these places had absolutely no relevance to their home or to the life of their country. Consequently, it was not possible for them to remember their lessons as a matter of course and with ease. They had to stuff their minds with strange knowledge by a kind of violent effort. Naturally, they could not but take to cramming. The inevitable result of this practice was that they lost that creative power and that self-confidence which had enabled Indians for centuries past to make valuable and unrivalled contributions in the spheres of science, literature, art and religion. It was by virtue of these that they had carried the message of Indian culture and religion to every corner of the great continent of Asia and to distant lands across the seas at a time when there were no safe and easy means of communication, nor such effective instruments of propaganda as man has at his disposal today.

As a consequence of this alien system of education, our educated people began to have split personalities, so much so that they could not see any other purpose in their lives except that of mere living. No one can compute the great cultural loss our country has had to suffer on account of this purposelessness. It may appear at first sight rather surprising that quite a good number of the English members of the Indian Civil Service could find time, in spite of their heavy official duties, to devote themselves to the writing of books on history, political economy and other social sciences, while, with a few honourable exceptions, hardly any Indian in the same Service had any interest of that kind. I think that this was due mainly to the fact that these English Civilians did not

suffer from split personalities as did the Indians and, in any case, not to the same extent as the latter and consequently they were not subject to the mental inertia of which the Indians were victims. Whereas, it should have been the function of our Universities to bring about the development of harmonious personalities in our people, they continued to cut them into parts by their insistence on the English language and literature and by the neglect of whatever was Indian. Naturally and inevitably, this led to the rise of a class of Indians which, while living on the soil of India, yet lived in an atmosphere which was English, so much so that even its family life, its language of speech, correspondence and study and its mode of dining and dressing became foreign. Having been more or less completely Anglicised, these people did not suffer to the same extent from the split personality that used to develop among other educated people. However, even they did not remain entirely free from this evil.

Besides the loss that our people have had to suffer in the intellectual sphere on account of this kind of education, there was also a heavy loss in the social sphere. The people educated in these Universities came to develop a kind of indifference, if not contempt, for those Indians who had remained entirely unacquainted with English literature and culture. The result was that in every city of India, a kind of cultural wall began to arise, on one side of which lived the spiritual children of England and on the other the people of India. These cities were already divided into the worlds of the rich and the poor, but now came to be divided also into the worlds of the English-educated and the non-English-educated. The result was that the collective endeavours and efforts towards a common good, which could otherwise have been made, were no longer possible. Moreover, suspicion and jealousy began to arise between the people living on both sides of this wall. There also developed a tendency among them to mock and ridicule the people living on the other side. While the life of the city thus came to be divided, the life of the village was practically ruined as a result of this system. It was plain that the number of people who had taken to English ways of life could not be large in the villages, for the simple reason that such a mode of living involves heavy expenses and the people of the rural areas did not have any surplus money. Moreover, the villages did not have the facilities and amenities which our English-educated people considered necessary. The natural consequence was that the bond between educated India and village India went on loosening. Such a gulf had never before arisen between the urban and the rural populations in the history of India. In the past, learned people used to visit the villages and many of them even lived there. The life of the rural areas used to be on quite a good level of culture and civilisation

on account of its contact with the intellectuals of the age and as a result of the recitation of stories from sacred literature. Naturally, therefore, there was no big gulf between village culture and city culture. There could be inter-dining and inter-marriage between the people of the villages and the people of the cities as there was no difference in the style of living, dressing and dining. If a city girl was married into a rural family, she did not have to face any kind of discomfort or inconvenience because of the difference in the mode of living of her parents and her husband's family. But, during the British period, the cultural gulf between the city and the village widened to such an extent that if a girl from a city were to be married into a village family, she would have to face any amount of inconvenience and discomfort due to cultural disparity. The bonds that subsisted between the village and the city began to weaken all the more and a situation arose when the only relation that remained between the two was that the village people went to the city to sell their produce and to bring back cloth or money from there. This widening gulf between the city and the village weakened the country all the more. Another loss which the village suffered on account of this system of education was that all the capable and skilled people of the villages began to desert their homes and settle in the cities. A talented young man from a village, who was able to acquire English education, was so steeped in the English way of life that he could not even think of living any more in his former surroundings. The result of all this was that the universities became a kind of blotting paper for soaking all village talent. Only such persons continued to live in the villages who were deficient either in intelligence or in craftsmanship. Whereas, formerly, the talent of the village used to be devoted to the improvement of its economic and social life, it now began to completely migrate from the villages in order to settle down in the cities. Thus, as a result of this educational system, our villages became the abodes of darkness and illiteracy. The universities, whose duty it was to spread light and learning and enrich life all around, ended with producing the kind of people who sucked away all life and joy from the countryside.

Whatever may have been the economic and political importance of this educational system during the British period, it does not and should not exist any more. Our greatest problem today is how to fill up the cultural and economic gap which exists between us and the other countries of the world. If we neglect this problem too long, not only our independence but even our existence will be in jeopardy. In order to make up for this leeway, it is essential that each one of us singly, and our whole nation unitedly and perseveringly, should dedicate ourselves to the



Unveiling a portrait of Mahatma Gandhi in the Punjab
Legislative Assembly Chamber at Simla on October 2, 1950

Casket containing an address of welcome presented by the
Chairman, Dehra Dun Municipality on October 22, 1950





Receiving the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters from Sri Chandulal Trivedi at the Punjab University Convocation at Amhala on January 6, 1951



Laying the foundation-stone of the new building of Ramjas College, Delhi on January 18, 1951

Addressing a gathering before unveiling the statue of Maharaj Chhatrasal at Panna on January 28, 1951



achievement of this objective. But, this will be possible only when the chasms and gulfs which exist at the present moment between the inner structure of our individual personality and communal life will have been completely filled up.

The first step which we must immediately take is to establish complete harmony among the historic traditions of our country. It is quite evident to me that this can be brought about only by the mingling and merging of the European and the Arab currents with the main traditional current of our land. I say so, not because I believe that the indigenous tradition is superior to that of Arabia or Europe from the cultural or moral point of view. I think there is no question of better or worse before us in so far as this matter is concerned. The only reason why I advocate this course is that the indigenous tradition is the basis of the cultural life of our people. No one can deny that the life of at least ninety per cent of our people rests on its foundations. Therefore, even if the European or Arabian traditions or currents be taken to be better than the indigenous one, it would be quite futile on our part to seek by force to divert the course of the indigenous current in order that it may mingle with the currents that entered our country at a later stage of our history. The mingling of the former two with the indigenous current would imply only that they would contribute their special features to the indigenous current in order that these may penetrate or percolate into the life of every Indian. I would very much like the poems of Ghalib and the dramas of Shakespeare to become the property of as large a number of Indians as possible, instead of remaining the property, as they are today, of a few only. At the same time, I would like that those who, at present, look with contempt upon the indigenous culture should at least make an effort to see whether its artistic and literary creations have any value and beauty of their own or not. I think that it should be the duty of every one living in this country not to have any contempt or indifference for the great artistic and literary creations of these several cultural currents of our country. On the contrary, they should, with all eagerness, drink deep from them. When I refer to the dramas of Shakespeare and to the poems of Ghalib, I do not in the least imply that every Indian should be compelled to read them in the English language or in Hindi overladen with Persian. Of course, those who would like to read them in such languages may do so with pleasure. But, I do imply that those, who are not acquainted with these languages, should have access to these artistic works in their own languages and it should be the duty of the universities to see that the artistic creations of European and Arabic culture are made available to their students. This also implies that the

text books taught in the universities or in other educational institutions should have lessons which give their readers an idea and understanding of these historic traditions and their artistic creations. If we succeed in inducing all our brethren to march together in this matter, we shall very soon succeed in realising the objective of establishing an internal and social harmony. It is my conviction that the wall separating our masses and our intelligentsia can be demolished and the gulf existing between them bridged. In this connection, I would like to say that the greatest contribution which Gandhiji made to our life was to restore, by means of the *Charkha* and *Khadi*, by third-class travel and by the Indian way of dressing and living, the sundered bonds between our intelligentsia and our people. By restoring their lost unity, he gave to our people a power, an enthusiasm and a vigour which they had not had for centuries. We have to be careful that this restored unity may not be lost again through our folly. There are, at the present moment, some educated people who think that the Indianisation which Gandhiji had brought about was quite alright for carrying on the battle of freedom against the English, but that under the changed conditions of today, it is not only quite unnecessary but is also even retrogressive and reactionary in character. I think that these people have failed to see that nothing could do greater injury to our society than the sundering of the bonds that bind the heart of our people to the intelligentsia. I realise full well that we have to spread knowledge, literature and art as widely as possible, but I am not prepared to admit that the easiest way to do so is to cut off the bonds that bind us to the masses. I think that scientific studies can be pursued with the same success while dressed in Indian style as they can be in any other dress. I cannot see how the delight of literature can be lost if it is studied through an Indian language. I would therefore urge as emphatically as I can that our Universities should no longer remain indifferent to the Indian traditions and that they should make Indian literature a compulsory subject of study for their students. At the same time, they should make all possible efforts that an Indian language or languages should become the medium of education at as early a time as possible. It is only when we are able to do so that the split personality which exists today in our individuals and our groups would be completely eliminated.

Secondly, I feel that the time has now come when universities, instead of being the blotting paper of village talent, should be the institutions which would enrich village talent by their own contributions. This would happen only when the style of living in the cities is not entirely different from that of the villages. I do not, in the least, imply that we should import the evils of village life into the cities, but I do feel that

there is no overriding necessity for that ostentatious and fashionable way of living which is found in the lives of the students of our Universities today. The life in the Ashram of Mahatma Gandhi was almost like that of the villages though completely free from all its evils. I think that we have to make an effort to introduce, to some extent, that type of life in our Universities also. If we are able to do so, I am sure, the students would not have any mental or cultural reservation in going to the villages to live there and to make the villages progressive units of culture. Moreover, if such a change takes place in the viewpoint of universities, the cultural wall that now divides the cities into two halves and the gulf that exists between the city and the village will be completely eliminated. It would also stop the migration of talent from the villages to the cities and would eliminate the split character that is found today in the personalities of our educated people.

It is the duty of those who are in charge of Indian Universities, to bring about this revolutionary change in their character. If they admit that the universities exist for the service of the Indian people, if they believe that it is through these educational institutions that the torch of knowledge and the devotion to ideals can be carried into the life of the common people and if they consider it their duty to train soldiers who are to bring about a revolutionary change in the life of the common people of India, they must take effective steps in the direction of bringing about such a change in the university system. At the same time, I would urge on you, the Graduates, that in order to discharge the obligation that your countrymen have placed on you by providing you with education, it is your duty to dedicate yourselves to their service. You have to carry light into millions of homes and cottages. You have the torch which shines all the brighter by kindling other torches. You have the wealth which increases the more it is given away. You can fill with new life, every child of this country by giving wealth and spreading light. March on with strong determination and firm steps and by discharging these duties, fulfil the expectations that history and your country have of you. It is my heart's desire and prayer that God may give you the strength and wisdom to come out successful in this great test of life.

some success, the articles for the manufacture of which it has been set up. We have to find out the way in which, with the least possible change and the least amount of investment of capital we can enlarge and renew this factory in order to manufacture the new article that we need. Education may be compared, in my opinion, to a basic industry, the products of which are needed by all of our industries. The other industries would succeed or fail as this basic industry succeeds or fails. It is for this reason that we have to give very careful consideration to its objectives, its machinery and its system before we can finally accept them and, if necessary, we have to make such changes in any or all of them as seem to be desirable. It is my feeling that the kind of goods that used to be turned out by this factory will not prove very helpful to us any more. We have, therefore, to start producing a new type of goods in this factory.

The system, the medium and the course of education were probably useful and appropriate under the circumstances of the age when they were established by the founders of the present educational system. But, they do not fit in with the circumstances of the present day and therefore a basic and fundamental change in them appears to be necessary. To say that the English rulers had given special importance to two objectives in devising this educational system is neither to blame them nor to cast an aspersion on them. They wanted that the educational system should prepare such people as could assist them in administering the country. They had the firm faith and conviction that their literature, their institutions and their culture were superior and richer to those of this country. They naturally felt it their duty to promote and spread these in our country and it may be said that they really believed that by doing so they would be doing good to our people. It was but natural for them to hold that belief for they were familiar only with their own culture. Moreover, though few in number, they had succeeded in bringing under their sovereignty and dominion the teeming millions of this country as we did not have the power, intelligence or ability to enter into competition with them or to struggle against them. They, therefore, deemed it proper and necessary to propagate and popularise their language, their literature and their institutions. Today, however, we have to make up an account of this system to us and also examine as to how far we can continue to make use of it in future.

It is quite plain that the foundations of the present educational system were laid to produce administrative officials for the British Government and therefore, in the syllabus and courses of study prescribed in our Universities, not much attention has been paid to the all-round progress of our country. The first feature of this system was that an alien

language had been made the medium of education. This enabled the production of a class of people who could assist the English administrators, through their knowledge of the English language, in running the administration of the country. Thus there was hardly any necessity for the latter to study the language and literature of this country, during the period of their administrative service and they were freed from all the trouble attendant upon the learning of a foreign language or the study of an alien literature. It is unnecessary for me to reiterate what is now acknowledged by all educationists, scholars and administrators that education imparted through the medium of the mother-tongue proves most beneficial to the child and to the development of its mind and character. Thus, while we have, no doubt, learned and benefitted greatly from the study of English literature, yet there cannot be any doubt that we have lost our creative energy and have become mentally paralysed to a very great extent as a result of having had to learn everything through English. I remember in this connection an incident that occurred in 1921 and which made me a thorough believer of national education, that is to say, the principle of imparting education through the medium of the mother-tongue. In those days the boycott movement of educational institutions established or aided by the Government was at its height. I was touring Orissa with Gandhiji. An aged gentleman put a question to Mahatmaji at a mass meeting. He asked Gandhiji why he wanted the educational institutions to be boycotted when, as a matter of fact, the whole freedom movement was but an outcome of that educational system. He asked whether it was not a fact that such talented people as Lokmanya Tilak and Gandhiji himself were the products of that system. Mahatmaji countered the question by asking whether it was not a fact that there had been only one talented person like Lokmanya Tilak even though the system of English education had been in existence for many years. He added that if the matter were carefully considered it would appear that Lokmanya Tilak could stand no comparison from the point of view of talent to those great souls who had appeared in our past history. Even if the great 'rishis', about whom we do not know much, were not taken into consideration, yet could it be said that any one in India under British rule could be compared from the point of view of his genius and abilities to such giants as Gautama Buddha, Shankara and even to Tulsidas and Kabirdas who lived just before English rule began in this country? Moreover, who could be sure that if Lokmanya Tilak had not had to suffer from the limitations and the burdens of a foreign medium of instruction he would not have proved a much greater man? He, therefore, was of the opinion that whatever talents our people had exhibited after receiving English education had been acquired not on

THE DEFECTS IN OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

I would like you, the Graduates, who are about to enter the wider sphere of life after qualifying from this University, to remember that you are taking this step at a time when our country is facing extremely complicated problems and difficulties, for the solution of which we require all the care and caution that we can possibly command. The necessity for caution and co-operation on our part has become all the greater on account of the death of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. We were till now under his benign guardianship and had full confidence that he would be able to steer us safely through all the shoals and rocks of trials and tribulations. He had unceasingly devoted all his energy and time to the service of the people throughout the last thirty-two years and was, in fact, the most eminent and prominent captain of our War of Independence. Mahatma Gandhi, with his message of 'satyagraha', had awakened the Indian people from their age-long slumber and had inspired them to enter the War of Independence, finally leading them to victory by his unique weapon. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was one of the most brilliant and successful commanders of this army of patriots. It was behind him that we continued to advance with confidence and courage in the field of battle till the day arrived when we were able to win our independence. He not only freed the country from its bondage, but also, like Chandragupta Maurya, united it under one single administration and thus gave to it a power and vitality which it did not possess in the past, even in the days of its highest political glory. The responsibilities that have fallen on us on account of the departure from our midst of such an unrivalled soldier and statesman are not small or simple in any measure. He was busy in the task of recreating our country and consolidating our unity after the advent of freedom but, unfortunately, he was not able to finish it before he was taken away from us. That task has yet to be completed. It is the special responsibility of the youth of this country and particularly of the educated amongst them to complete it successfully. It is at times like these that the mettle of men is tested. Your education and training would have no meaning for you or for your country until you are able to fulfil your obligations and duties which you owe to the Goddess Saraswati. Saraswati is but the creative energy of Brahma, whom the Lord of the Universe is always pursuing. Naturally, therefore, all those who have succeeded in winning the boons and blessings of Saraswati have the

Translation of the address delivered in Hindi at the 30th Convocation of the Nagpur University on December 26, 1950.

supreme duty of dedicating themselves to the sacred task of creating the world anew. It is also the duty of the Universities to awaken this spirit of service and the urge for creation in the hearts of their students and to make them dedicated servants of humanity who would consider it their supreme obligation to free human life from all its obstacles and maladies, all its shortcomings, failures and frustrations; to develop in them the feeling and faith that it is their duty to consume themselves in the fulfilment of this noble mission by the creation of a new cultural and economic order.

It is only recently that we attained our freedom and that also in a unique manner. Countries in which a revolution is carried out through violence provide a clear field of action for revolutionaries who can carry through radical changes in the social and other spheres of life within a short time. This is particularly the case when they do not suffer from any ideological or moral scruples with regard to the means they adopt for achieving their ends. We, however, followed only the path of non-violence in securing our freedom. Even though it cannot be said that we have remained faithful and true to it to the same extent after achieving freedom as we had been before, yet it has not been possible for us to carry through a revolutionary transformation of the kind which is possible for the type of revolutionaries to whom I have already made a reference. We inherited a running administration and we have not been able to free ourselves from its inter-tangled web of numerous limitations and regulations. We have, therefore, to pause and ponder before we can take a single step. We have to consider the ways in which we can realise our aims and fulfil our objectives without in any way breaking this administrative machine. This is neither the time nor the place for us to examine as to how far we are still firmly loyal to the fundamental principles which Gandhiji had placed before us and the world. But here, I would like to draw the attention of the scholars and educationists to only one of his principles, for it is in the light of that principle that we, in this assemblage of scholars and students, have to deliberate upon subjects of educational importance and to discover the means whereby we can make this educational machinery serve our purpose. We have to examine the real aims of all the institutions into which the different aspects of our life are woven and to discover what changes in the character and constitution of each of such institutions are necessary in the changed circumstances of today in order that they may be able to fulfil these aims and purposes. We are today in a situation in which an owner of a factory finds himself when he comes into the possession of a running factory which has been installed with great labour and expenditure and which is making, with

account of but in spite of it. I wholly subscribe to this view and it is my unshakable conviction that it is absolutely necessary for our development and the realisation of the creative energy in us that our own language should be the medium of education. Another fact that shows clearly that the foreign language was a crushing load on our minds is that in spite of the continued existence of this educational system for the last many years, our people made very little contribution to modern knowledge and science; but from the day the national movement began to gather momentum, our intellectual powers began to grow and develop not only in the sphere of politics but also in the other branches of knowledge.

The burden of a foreign tongue that was imposed on us by this system of education is not its only defect. Even though it had been established with the belief that our indigenous culture was devoid of all sciences, practically no place was provided in the syllabus of the educational institutions for modern sciences, crafts and technology. During the last two hundred years, the new science has given to the world many great and glorious things; people are still witnessing its miracles and also enjoying its blessings or suffering its curses. The present English system of education was established in this country more than a hundred years ago and some of our older Universities have also completed a hundred years of their existence. During the first fifty years, there was no place for science in the syllabus of the educational institutions. Here and there, a few small medical or engineering colleges had been established for the simple reason that the administration needed some students trained in those branches of knowledge also; but, as many more people were needed for the offices and courts, only such subjects found their place in the syllabus as were considered necessary and appropriate for training people of the latter type. I am not aware if, in this mainly agricultural country, there was a single institution during the first fifty years of the existence of this system, which taught subjects having relation to agriculture or otherwise imparted agricultural training to the people.

The most revolutionary contribution that Europe has made to the modern world is the present industrial system and the introduction of mechanical power. It is a little more than 150 years ago that the industrial revolution began in England. The river of wealth that flowed from India to England, at the time, enabled the English people to forge far ahead of other European nations in the industrial field. But, no education was imparted in our schools and colleges which could promote such industrial development in our country. Even though the number of colleges and universities is daily multiplying nowadays and even though

many of them realize the great importance of industrialisation, yet not even an ordinary, leave alone an adequate place, has been given in the syllabus of such institutions to subjects which can help industrialisation.

I can quite understand why no emphasis was placed by the English administrators on such subjects in those days. They wanted their industries to flourish and considered our country as a market for supplying raw materials to their factories and for consuming their manufactured goods. When, after the War, English factories began to suffer from a scarcity of cotton, attempts began to be made in our country to grow cotton, so that it could prove useful and profitable to English factories. What I mean to say is that this educational system was not only a burden on the memorizing faculties of our young people but that its aims had been conceived primarily in the interests of the British Empire. The consequence of all this was that in modern scientific knowledge and industries, we are lagging far behind the other countries of the world even today. It is quite irrelevant here for me to consider the question whether large-scale industrialisation is desirable for our country or not. It is a different subject altogether and there is much difference of opinion on it. This question, however, is irrelevant for our present purposes for the simple reason that those who were the sponsors and the founders of this system, instead of being hostile, were, in fact the strongest and the stoutest supporters of modern European institutions and social organisations. They did not, however, care to promote the industrialisation of this country nor did they shape the educational system so as to help that process.

Whatever be the view-point from which we examine the present educational system in our country, it is evident that it stands in need of fundamental and basic changes. I, therefore, consider it the duty of all universities and other educational institutions to change their mental outlook and their syllabus and medium of instruction.

I do not think that it is necessary for me to explain at length the importance of the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction to the members of this University, because you have already accepted its utility in principle and have also taken steps to give that principle a practical form. I would like to congratulate you on this courageous move and I hope that you will always remain firm in your purpose and would achieve success by surmounting all the obstacles and difficulties that you may have to encounter. Thus you will convince even those who are sceptical today of the great capacity and utility of Indian languages as mediums of educa-

tion. I think that for achieving success in this direction, two kinds of steps are necessary. In the first place, you have to prepare and popularise a lexicon of such terms as our languages either did not have, or, if they had, the terms were not sufficiently popular for expressing the ideas of such scientific subjects as are entirely new to us. I find that even in this direction your University and Government have been active and I would like to congratulate you all for that as well. The other step that seems to be necessary is that the syllabus as well as the educational method of our institutions should be appropriately changed. I am afraid that necessary steps in this direction are not being taken as yet and I would like not only this University but other Universities as well to pay adequate attention to this problem.

Learning has a great value. It has a fundamental importance for the development of mind, body and morality and, in our own times, even for the economic life of man. It is, therefore, necessary that whatever resources of education are available in any country should be such as enable the students to make an all round progress. Even if we consider other matters to be of secondary importance and hold that only such knowledge as has an economic value is to be preferred, the present educational system needs a radical alteration. The system that exists at present divides our people into water-tight compartments of the educated and the uneducated and there is no common ground between the two. The style of living of the educated classes has become appreciatively expensive and their needs are of such a character as cannot be satisfied in villages, with the consequence that people of the educated classes have practically all moved into the cities for settling there and the villages are thus losing the benefit of their knowledge and experience. While on the one hand, life has become more expensive as a result of this system, on the other, it has not led to a corresponding increase in the ability of the educated to create wealth. It may well be that the educated people may be acquiring an added power to take away from others the lion's share of what the latter produce. It is evident that such a power cannot lead to the abolition of poverty in the country nor can it add even a pie to our national wealth, which would be possible only when education leads to an increase in the productive power of the country. As things stand today, only such people derive any benefit from it as are able for one reason or the other and in one form or the other, to take a share out of the wealth produced by others; but the total national wealth remains what it has been. If this has any effect on society, it is a harmful one. When the producers see that the produce of their toil goes to others, they lose all incentive to produce more wealth which in its turn causes economic loss to the whole

country. I would therefore urge that our educational system should be such as imparts knowledge of the subjects by virtue of which our educated people would not only be enabled to share in the wealth produced by other but also to make their contribution in increasing the total national wealth. It is an admitted truth that a person who receives modern education, no longer remains fit for the type of work that his parents were doing to earn their livelihood. Thus the son of a peasant does not become a better peasant by virtue of this type of education. On the contrary, he feels a sense of humiliation in holding the plough or otherwise performing any physical labour. Similarly, the son of a carpenter feels no inclination after receiving education of this type to carry on his ancestral vocation. The mere fact of having been educated renders persons incapable of or disinclined to physical labour and produces in them a disrespect for all other types of work except those which involve the use only of the pen or the tongue. In proposing that basic education should be imparted through any craft or industry, Mahatma Gandhi had not only the idea that thereby education would be imparted in a better way, but had also in view the consideration that dignity of physical labour should be re-established and the feeling of contempt that accompanied it, should disappear. My belief is that this proposal is useful not only from the view-point that if worked properly it would make education pay its own way and make it quite cheap, but also because it would go a long way in reforming the lives of our educated people and in creating an educated class which would share what others produce by the sweat of their brow and also add to the national wealth.

Considering the swift progress that is being made in the world in the industrial sphere through the application of modern science, and India's need to secure a respectable position for itself in that sphere, it has become absolutely necessary that our whole educational system should be re-orientated. Instead of laying emphasis on pure learning only, we have to discover a way whereby we may be in a position to remove the gulf that has opened and is widening daily between the life of the city and the life of the village. I find that new schools, colleges and universities are being established and the number of students in them is increasing very quickly. But, I am not certain whether all these would prove as useful as they should, for I find that in almost all of them the same old methods and syllabi of education are being adopted. I would like that whenever a proposal or a demand is made for the establishment of a new educational institution, full consideration be given to the question whether any purpose would be served by beating the old path or following the old trail. If it be found that the old way can be of no use,

it should be considered as to what new way can be adopted that would make a new educational institution a useful one.

The University Commission has suggested the establishment of rural universities. We have also before us the plan for education proposed by Gandhiji. Are we to remain slaves of the past practices even when these schemes and proposals are before us? My feeling is that our educational system would serve its true purpose only if it is integrated with the whole life of the Indian people instead of being merely related to the administrative system as it has been so far. Integration implies, in the first instance, that such subjects should be taught in our Universities as would directly promote the economic development of our country. Everybody knows that agriculture is the basis of our economic structure. Whatever may be the industrial progress of our country in the future and I think it should and must be an all-round one, I am convinced that agriculture must continue to be our main and most important industry. If I am right in this view, it is evident that our educational system should give a very important place to and lay the main emphasis on agronomy and other sciences related to agriculture. If we examine the syllabi of the Universities, we find that agriculture and related sciences find a secondary place in them. What an irony it is that in an agricultural country like India, there should be almost a complete lack of agricultural education! One of the main reasons why our country has a deficit in food and why our agriculture is not profitable is, that there has been a great neglect of modern agricultural education in our country. Whatever little arrangement exists today is also such as does not create any interest among the students for agricultural work, but only makes them fit for filling some place in the administrative machinery of the Government. If our agricultural education is to be of any use, it is necessary that it should be in our own language and in terms of the conditions of our country: above all it should be much less expensive than it is today. It is only then that it would directly lead to the improvement of our agriculture. Similarly, I believe that there should be some arrangement in our educational institutions for textile education. I would not like to go into more details in this connection and would content myself by suggesting that there should be a close relationship between the syllabi of our educational institutions and the economic life of our country.

The second point on which I would like to lay emphasis is that our educational institutions should possess statistics which can provide necessary information as to how many educated workers are required in any particular economic sphere and, on the basis of this knowledge, educa-

tional institutions should guide students to make a choice of subjects that they are to study there. I think this could be conveniently arranged if there were a close liaison between the educational institutions—particularly the Universities—and the organisations of industry, public service and agriculture existing within any State. I believe that if students could get such guidance in their educational institutions, much of the time and energy that they have now to waste uselessly would be utilised to good purpose. It often happens these days that a student passes a good part of his life in studying a subject which proves of no use whatever to him after he has completed his education. If, however, education is imparted under a plan of this type, much of the energy of the youth and the money of the country would be saved from being wasted.

The third point which needs emphasis is that educational institutions should create in their alumni a faith that the purpose of education is creation rather than enjoyment or ostentation. Till the present day, the educated classes have been taking their education as an adornment given to them by Saraswati or a pleasant boon of the Goddess Lakshmi. There are many among them who still believe that the only purpose of education is to provide a person with what is termed 'good form.' They treat education as a kind of ornament that adds to their spiritual beauty; and even though this view has some truth in it, yet I do not consider it to be wholly correct. It no doubt emphasises rightly that education teaches an individual to sublimate his natural instincts and propensities and to make the world of nature more beautiful, useful and richer than what it is, by his own creative activities. While this view has this truth, there is also a danger lurking within it—the danger that the educated people may begin to treat themselves as a separate privileged class. It is no doubt true that knowledge gives a higher and better life to man but this does not mean that the educated person, by virtue of this new birth of the spirit within him, should take his seat on Olympian heights and look down upon other men with contempt. The educated should, on the other hand, always remember that they were able to worship at the shrine of Saraswati merely because of the liberality and generosity of the common people and therefore they should treat their education as a trust placed in their hands by their ancestors and contemporaries—a trust which they have to return to their fellow being with added interest. I would therefore urge that education, instead of being treated as an ornament, should be considered as the badge of service. Similarly, I urge that education should not be treated as an instrument for self-gratification. In other words, I insist that the educated people should not demand a big share out of the national wealth merely because they

are educated. Every educated man should, on the other hand, realise that he can claim a share in the national wealth only when, by virtue of his knowledge, he has brought about any cultural or economic progress of his countrymen. I therefore feel that it is the duty of the Universities, as also of the educational institutions, to develop a faith in their alumni that knowledge is but another name for the creative energy of man and that so long as they do not devote their life to creative purposes, they would not be remaining either loyal to their knowledge or to their ideals.

I would urge you, educated young men and women, to recognise the obligations and the duties which knowledge has laid on you. It may well be that in fulfilling these obligations you may have to encounter numerous difficulties and troubles. It may also be that in discharging these responsibilities, you may remain bereft of the boons of Lakshmi. But, you must always remember that your life would be prosperous only when the country is prosperous. You would be failing in your obligations to your knowledge if, at any time, you desire your own prosperity though your country is poverty-stricken. By doing so, you would become one of those who, for their own aggrandisement, are ready and willing to trample upon the good of others. I am confident that your sentiments and idealism would not permit you ever to adopt this course. I would therefore ask you to make a firm resolve that you would remain dedicated to such creative purposes as serve the economic and cultural interests of the country and that you would sacrifice all your personal enjoyment till your country is prosperous and flourishing.

Since unknown ages, Man has been guiding generation after generation with the torch of knowledge. He holds it aloft in his hands so long as there is life in his body; at the moment when he is to fall into eternal sleep, he hands it over to other powerful and eager hands. This University has placed the torch of knowledge in your hands for you to join this race. It is your paramount duty to keep it ever alight and burning and to go on marching ahead, lighting the mysterious darkness of the future, so long as there is life in you and to hand it over at last to posterity. This is a great responsibility that you hold and it is my prayer that God may give you success in fulfilling it.

THE ROLE OF HISTORY

We are meeting under the shadow of a great national calamity. One of the architects of our modern history, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, has been taken away from us and a void has been created in our political life, which will remain unfilled. He has left for us practical lessons of sacrifice and an example of indomitable will, unfailing devotion to duty and great powers of organisation and administration.

It gives me great pleasure to accept the invitation so kindly extended to me on behalf of the All-India History Congress. I have no pretensions to scholarship, but I have a genuine interest in history, particularly in the history of my own country which, with all the ups and downs it has seen during the past centuries, can furnish material for constructing what may be called a philosophy of history. It is a fitting thing that you have met in this part of the country which is, geographically speaking, in the centre of India and has played an important part in its history. Not far from where we are meeting today, is situated that world famous village, Sevagram, which was the hub round which the wheel of our freedom movement revolved during the last twelve or thirteen years of its momentous career, which ended with the attainment of complete independence. It will not be out of place, therefore, if in inaugurating this session, I take the liberty of emphasising, what may appear to many to be, the most obvious thing. India needs a true and exhaustive history of its distant and glorious past, no less than of its unique and unprecedented struggle which has succeeded in placing it, once again, on the map of the world.

It is often said that our ancestors and forebears have not left us any authentic history of our country or material from which such history can be reconstructed. We are getting an unending stream of material from archaeological excavations and discoveries, in the form of inscriptions, coins, sculptures, figurines, pottery, beads, etc., found in India, Central Asia, Indonesia, Central America and the Northern part of South America. Apart from such material evidence, there is a vast amount of literature which can throw a flood of light on our past. Not only works of art, but also works on medicine, mathematics, grammar, law, music, and the sciences can yield, if properly studied, matter of great value regarding our life and culture. Of historical documents, there is a considerable number and more are being discovered from time to time.

Inaugural speech at the Nagpur Session of the All-India History Congress held on December 27, 1950.

History books often contain references to a number of works from which the author drew his material, most of which are no longer available. Coming to more recent times, we may mention the Burajis of Assam, the Kulapanjikas of Bengal, the Vansavalis of Mithila, the Khyats of Rajasthan and the Dafters of Maharashtra and a host of other literary works. The memoirs of the Muslim kings and their courtiers, the histories of their wars and conquests, the descriptions and accounts of their administration as also the accounts of the travels in this country left by foreign travellers, are a store-house of information. There is a plethora of material in many European languages, particularly in English, of the period when we had trade and political relations with Europe for the first time. Modern Indian languages, no less than Sanskrit—both Pali and Prakrit—can give us information and throw a flood of light on many an unexplained incident of our history. You are all familiar with these and have, in fact, utilised them to good purpose.

The need has been felt for presenting to our country, not only a connected and correct account of events as they have happened, of the wars and conquests of kings and emperors, their heroic deeds and miserable misrule and the political upheavals; but also how our life has been lived and shaped, how great religious, cultural and literary movements have arisen and influenced hundreds of millions of people and how art and science, industry and commerce have developed and fructified. Efforts are being made to meet this urge. Some years ago the Bharatiya Itihas Parishad planned to bring out a history of India in twenty volumes, which, for various reasons, it was unable to complete. Your Congress has also undertaken a similar task and it is a matter for congratulation that the two schemes have been amalgamated. It is to be hoped that within a reasonable period, we shall have a complete history written by competent authors who will utilise the available material and give us a reliable account of our achievements and failures. If history teaches by example, it will also provide guidance for the future.

This naturally brings me to the question of what a good history should be. History has been looked upon in different ways by different people at different times. The most common view of history is that it is a record of the past and that its main concern is to disinter facts and figures from the graveyard of time. This is obviously a most inadequate appreciation of history. If it is the study of philosophy, *i.e.* teaching by precedent, a mere record of the past would not be able to do that for the simple reason that the man of the present would find his problems more complex than of those of the past. Such a concept of history, therefore,

seems to me to derogate from its value to man. This fact was recognised as early as the period of Polybius, the great Greek historian who, writing in the 2nd century B.C., observed, "If you take from history all explanations of cause, principal and motive, and of the adaptation of the means to the end, what is left is a mere panorama without being instructive, and though it may please for the moment, it has no abiding value". History as a mere chronicle of events is not adequate. It would be even less adequate if it is only an account of kings and nobles—their follies and foibles, their wars and their conquests—taking no account of the common man and of the great religious, linguistic, cultural and artistic movements, which have convulsed humanity from time to time. I will quote Polybius once again. Writing about the Punic war, he said, "I record these things in the hope of benefiting my readers. There are two roads to reformation : one through misfortunes of one's own, the other through those of others ; the former is the most unmistakable, the latter the less harmful. . . It is this which forces us to consider that the knowledge gained from such a study of true history is the best of all education for practical life. For, it is history and history alone which without involving us in actual danger would mature our judgment and prepare us to take right views, whatever may be the crises or the fortune of affairs". The Roman view of history was not any different from that of the Greeks. Cicero has well stated the principle of historiography in the following words : "The first law in writing history" says he, 'is that the historian must not dare to say anything that is false, and the next that he must dare to tell the truth. Also, that there must be no suspicion of partiality and animosity. The superstructure depends on facts and style". The great Roman historian Livy believed that the great events in human life are determined by fate. Referring to the rise of Rome, he said, "In my opinion the origin of so great a city and the establishment of an empire, next in power to that of the gods, was due to fate". He included "the supernatural as an intrinsic part of the human story, specially in the handling of crises when by miracle or portent the gods reveal themselves . . . and when gods are not on the scene, they are just behind it". The subjects to which Livy drew the attention of his readers were the life and morals of the community, the men and the qualities by which through domestic policy and foreign war, dominion was won and extended. Speaking of the past he says "You see in the clear light of historical truth examples of every possible type. From these you may select for yourself and for your country what to imitate and what . . . to avoid". History has thus been looked upon, not only as a mere lifeless

chronicle but as giving us an insight into the genesis and the development of human societies and their institutions.

As against the concept of fate, we have the concept of environmental and hereditary determinism. All these lay exclusive emphasis on one aspect or another of human life and experience and put all that has happened as proceeding from that particular aspect. It can hardly be denied that man is very largely influenced by his environment, by the operation, action and inter-action of material objects with which he comes into contact, and also by the biological laws according to which his own organism is the result partly, if not exclusively, of the simple organisms of his ancestors. But this concept of determinism whether it is by fate, environment or by heredity, reduces all human phenomena to a position in which they are supposed to be the result of the operation of only one or some of those forces and denies any kind of influence of the human personality itself. This is running in the face of facts. True history must be found in a reconciliation and synthesis of these and various other forces and factors which operate on and through human beings. Kautilya in his *Arthashastra* has mentioned, as sources of history, *Purana* (myths and legends), *Itivritta* (events), *Akhyayika* (tales), *Udaharan* (biographical quotations), *Dharmashastra* (cultural life), and *Arthashastra* (material life). These, according to him, constitute history. He has thus introduced the cultural and material factors as essential constituents of the historical concept. This view is not only comprehensive, but extremely original in that it defines a concept of history which is ultra-modern and is comparable with the latest views and theories of history propounded by western scholars. His singular merit is that he thought of a synthesis of what later came to be two rival philosophies of history, namely, the idealist and metaphysical, which have been at conflict to establish their exclusive claims during a century or more. In writing history, particularly of our country, we must recognise that the influence of material factors on man's destiny which was ignored earlier is, at least, as important a factor as human personality and its superphysical motives. A synthesis of both factors is necessary for the progress of history and a correct interpretation of its laws.

Indian historians of the present generation have not only the responsibility, but also the opportunity of interpreting history correctly. Many of them have seen great events with their own eyes, the like of which perhaps, were never before seen by any other historian. During my short sojourn in Europe between the two World Wars, I was struck by one thing which has remained fresh in my memory. Wherever I went

I saw memorials of warriors, conquerors, and wars. It is strange that there are no such memorials in this country, at any rate, in any appreciable numbers, except those relating to the period of our history connected with Europe. Our great architectural monuments of the Hindu and Buddhist periods are mostly religious in character and execution. Similarly, the great architectural monuments of the Muslim period are also either religious or semi-religious except for a number of forts, here and there, which are indicative of the accidents of a period of conflict and turmoil, but there is no apotheosization of warriors as we see in Europe. Our history naturally, therefore, has to take note of the significant fact that it is not a matter of surprise that this country should have seen, within the last thirty years or so, the emergence of a new technique of struggle for freedom, the emergence of the programme of non-violence and its actual implementation. I am not aware if any historian of note has, in his own writings, given to this new technique its due importance. My feeling is that this history is yet to be written. Strange as it may seem, the material which can enable the historian to reconstruct what I consider the most glorious chapter not only of our history but of the history of the world, has not been collected and preserved as it ought to be. It is, instead, gradually but, nonetheless, surely being destroyed. Those who have been engaged in this struggle have neither had the training nor the time and opportunity to keep a record of the day-to-day happenings much less of the inner thoughts and motives which influenced them. Whatever is available is spread over such a vast area and in so many diverse forms and languages that it would require people specially trained to sift the grain from the chaff.

The other day, I paid a visit to Simla where I saw admirable work being done under the guidance of your Secretary, Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, on the preparation of a history of the part played by India in the last great war. Not only are many able people engaged in studying and sifting the material which has been made available, but the writing of the history, in an interesting and instructive form, has made considerable progress. The Government is spending a considerable amount on this enterprise. We know that modern warfare does not leave anything to chance and while some are engaged in the actual fighting, others keep accurate records, not only in words but also in pictures, of what is happening. There is not much danger of this material being irretrievably lost. It is not true only of the present, but for a fairly long time, great importance has been given to the history of wars, by Governments and specially by the military authorities, to enable soldiers to learn the strategy of warfare and there is no doubt that these histories have proved

to be of great value to them. Cannot a history, written with understanding and sympathy, of the events as they occurred from day to day in our non-violent struggle, be of equal value to us as well as to others in the future? It was an experiment, as Mahatma Gandhi would have called it, but it proved to be successful. Who knows that the world will not some day accept the principles and adopt the strategy which Mahatma Gandhi taught and applied and with the help of which, we won our freedom? To one who believes in the efficacy of that principle and who has faith in its strength and universality, this history is of tremendous value, not only for this country, but for the whole world. May I ask this Congress of historians to consider this work of equal, if not of greater importance, than the history of the distant past or even of the recent World War? Those who participated in the struggle have done their work. Many of them who could have given valuable information from their personal knowledge, but have not recorded it, are one after another passing away. Within a short time, the historian who has nearly witnessed the events and more so the historians who will come later, will have to depend more and more on accounts which were actually published from time to time in various forms like newspapers, brochures, reports and so forth. The living material is fast disappearing and if any one is interested in it, he has to be vigilant and to take up the work without delay so that future generations may not say that great deeds were done but not recorded by historians and that their lessons were lost. I hope no one here will retort that it is not only for the historians but also for the Government which comprises men who have taken part in the struggle and have thus been instrumental in making history, to provide the information and means to have it recorded. I can only say that even if the Government, with its other preoccupations, is unable to do so and fails in its duty, it is no justification for others to do the same. I believe, however, that something is being attempted under Government auspices and can only express the hope that it will be done in a way worthy of the great events since non-violence has victories more glorious than war.

THE SPIRIT OF SELF-SACRIFICE

You, the graduates of this University, are about to enter the wider spheres of life. I would like to congratulate you on the success that you have achieved so far in the acquisition of learning. At the same time, I entertain the hope that you would use your learning for the creation of a new India where every individual shall be prosperous and completely free from all sufferings and sorrows.

This land has produced brave sons and daughters. Today, however, we are in the grip of despair and misery. Only three years ago, troubles and tribulations suddenly descended on the people of this State. Hundreds of thousands had to abandon their ancestral homes and property to save their liberty and life. Thousands of them, who could not succeed even in escaping with their lives, were killed with the greatest cruelty and brutality. Even today, there are thousands of persons whose tears have not dried up and whose sorrows have not left them.

Besides these, great calamities and catastrophies are threatening to overwhelm the world and India. The production of food, clothing and housing is not keeping pace with the continuous addition of numerous hungry mouths and naked bodies. Naturally, therefore, we have to suffer troubles and difficulties also in the economic sphere. All of you must realise that it is your duty to free yourselves and your countrymen from these troubles. Any feeling of helplessness in the matter is, in my opinion, an insult to your youth and education. I know that many people are in the grip of despair. All of them feel that it is the duty of the Government to save them from all the troubles. If the Government fails to do away with these troubles, they begin to feel that it is due to its negligence, if not due to the dishonesty and corruption of its leaders and officers. All of us must realise that the Government is nothing distinct from the people of the country and has no inherent powers of its own. On the contrary, it is only another name for collective cooperation of the citizens among themselves. It derives all its power, drive and direction from its citizens. It, therefore, reflects in its composition and character the attitude of its citizens. Therefore, it is meaningless and idle to expect that the Government can bring about a miracle even though the people remain passive and inert. The fact is that our people often forget, like Hanuman, their own potential power. It was the realisation of this

Address delivered at the Third Convocation of the Punjab University on January 6, 1951.

truth that led Gandhiji to advocate non-cooperation with the British Government in order to overthrow the British Empire in this country. I think, it is time that the people had a clear conviction and realisation that unless they are themselves active and resolved to master all their troubles and difficulties, the Government would not be able to take speedy and effective steps in this direction. I feel that the youth of the country, particularly those who have received or are receiving their education in the universities, can play a very active part in bringing about the cultural and economic progress of India.

Education is not merely a personal acquisition, but a trust which your ancestors and contemporaries have placed in your hands. It is not necessary to give elaborate arguments to prove this point. Knowledge is not something which any single individual can build up by his own unaided efforts. Our present store of knowledge is the result of the experience pooled by past generations over a period of thousands of years. The coming generations will learn by your experience and thought in the same way as you have done. Educational institutions and universities which have the custody of this precious heritage have to depend upon the support of the people. They are being maintained and run by the people's money. No doubt, students also have to pay some fees, but institutions and universities cannot be maintained or run with these fees alone. I, therefore, consider that for your education, you owe a debt to your countrymen. You can repay this debt by serving the country selflessly.

I do not think that our resources and strength are in any way deficient. If we pooled our resources and energies, we would have at our disposal such an immense power as would enable us to surmount all our difficulties. Unfortunately, this spirit of collective and cooperative endeavour is lacking and almost every one of us is busy pursuing his own ends. It is true that collective endeavour and collective team-work can be compulsorily organised by the State, but coercion or compulsion in this sphere can never pay. It would be far better to establish a system of cooperative effort—a system in which every individual takes part voluntarily and with the faith that therein lies his own and his country's good. True revolution consists in creating among the people a consciousness of the great benefits of collective endeavour as also of their own inherent strength. It is only by carrying through such a revolution that we can make every one of us prosperous and happy.

The foundations of the society which Mahatma Gandhi wanted to establish were truth and non-violence. It could be organised only through

collective cooperation. Gandhiji's aim was that every individual should be completely free and that there should be no obstacle in the development of his natural capacities. At the same time, his opinion was that the individual should do nothing which may cause injury or harm to others. Every individual should devote his life to the service of his fellows. This self-imposed discipline should be so strong that he may not go astray even in the hour of his greatest weakness. Even today there are persons who can make any sacrifice for serving their fellows. People who throw themselves into the thick of battle, for the sake of their country, have this very attitude towards life. The need is to infuse in society, this spirit of service which is at present found in a few individuals only.

It is a well-established truth that the spirit of sacrifice is infectious. Collective sacrifice is not so difficult as is individual sacrifice. A soldier is inspired with daring and courage by witnessing people facing death bravely all around. It is necessary to awaken in the people of our country the spirit of sacrifice. It was by infusing this spirit that Mahatma Gandhi had made people undergo any amount of sacrifice in the cause of freedom.

A revolutionary change is required in the social organisation. In the new society, every one would be completely free and nobody would oppress or exploit another. The pangs of hunger, want of clothes and of shelter would be a thing of the past. It would be a society where every one would work with all his heart. The Government servants in our ideal society would work in a spirit of service. There would be no international conflicts or internal discord among the people. In short, all the activities would be directed towards the good and the well-being of all men.

It may no doubt appear that the picture I have drawn is more or less Utopian in character. No one can, however, deny that there are thousands of examples in the world which go to prove that man can rise far above his individual or momentary self-interest and can embrace martyrdom for the benefit of his fellows in society. Those who are filled with this spirit of service should make all possible efforts to kindle it in the hearts of others. It was with this idea that Gandhiji had started ashrams at different places in the country where people used to live a free life directed by their own will. We may follow the way of living in these ashrams or draw up a routine in conformity with our own views. Whatever routine we may adopt, I am sure, it would have at its bottom this spirit of service, sacrifice and self-restraint. This spirit is to be found in the hearts of only a few of the products of universities. It cannot be

considered to have been the fruit of that educational system. It is due, in reality, to the natural gifts of such individuals which have blossomed in spite of the obstacles and difficulties caused by that system of education. The enrichment of the mind, the development of the body and the earning of money involve quite a long preparation and training. Similarly, the spirit of service and sacrifice also needs effort to be developed. But no one pays attention to this need. Only Mahatma Gandhi had placed before us a constructive programme for awakening this spirit of service in our society. I would like that, in our educational institutions, the courses of study should be calculated to develop this tendency and inclination among their alumni. This cannot be done merely by learning and committing some lessons to memory. It requires opportunities for intimate contact with life. The scheme of basic education was conceived with a view to facilitating the organisation and establishment of a new society. It is essential that the Government of the country and the institutions connected with education as also the educated class should realise its significance and make it the foundation of their system.

I am really sorry to find that this work is not receiving the attention it deserves. Many people had worked with Gandhiji and the whole country is now deriving benefit from the movement he had started. But, I do not think it will be improper for me to say that we have neither fully understood his principles and programme of action, nor have we made a real effort to put them into practice. The fact is that the new generation is not even being made familiar with his principles. I would certainly like to know what arrangements have been made to impart knowledge of these principles in our educational institution. I know that Mahatmaji did not write any text-books which could be prescribed in educational institutions. At the same time, I hold that he wrote so extensively and on so many subjects that if selections were made from his writings, numerous text-books could be made out of them. He had contributed so many articles and had made so many speeches that if all of them were collected they would cover thousands of pages. Some work has been done in this direction and some books have already been published on different subjects. I therefore do not believe that text-books inspired by the Gandhian ideals are difficult to write. Such books can be written for every class of people. The Department of Education alone can do this work. Moreover, if books of this type were prescribed in educational institutions, even private people would eagerly take it up.

At the present moment, there is no arrangement in any university of India for the teaching of Gandhian philosophy and ideals. I admit that

it will not be sufficient to fill the minds of students with Gandhian principles. The inculcation of the spirit of service is a matter of actual practice in life. If it is difficult to introduce practical training, the educational institutions can at least make some arrangement for intellectual training in Gandhism. Is it not an irony of history that there should be arrangements for the teaching of the philosophy of Kant and Hegel and of Marxian socialism as also of the philosophical writings of modern western thinkers in our educational institutions, while the revolutionary principles of Gandhiji should be totally neglected? It only shows that we are blindly following the old trail and though we have achieved political freedom yet we have failed to free ourselves from mental slavery. Our educational system continues to move in the same old grooves. I feel that a revolutionary change is essential in our educational system. Basic education should be the foundation of our entire educational system. So long as this educational revolution is not carried through, the social revolution for which Gandhiji strived would not be brought about. In the scheme of basic education, intellectual development and practical training march together, keeping in step with one another. It is my genuine desire that all of you should be faithful children of Mother India and thus make your life fruitful and successful.

NEW RESPONSIBILITIES

Yours is an ancient and historic town that has witnessed many a battle through the centuries. The responsibility of guarding the country against foreign invasion has continued to rest with your people. The country is faced with the question of the assistance it can give you in utilising your defensive potentialities and power to their highest. I hope that you will continue to shoulder the responsibility for the country's defence as you have in the past.

You have referred to your present difficulties and I agree that though, in the *Puranas* and in the ancient scriptures, we have descriptions of rivers flowing through this region, it is a sad truth that, today, you are suffering from a scarcity of water. I am happy to know that you are making arrangements to get over this difficulty. I hope the new dam that is being constructed, not far from here, would benefit your district also, and that you would be able to obtain adequate electric power to enable you to procure the water you need by sinking wells. In view of the great advance made by science in recent times, I can say with confidence that there is no region which cannot be rendered fertile if man resolved to make it so. Therefore, water shortage can also be overcome provided the requisite intelligence, skill and equipment are available to him. Now that we are free, I am sure we would be able to solve this and similar other difficulties. It is, of course, true that we are faced, at the present moment, with a large number of problems simultaneously and that it is not easy to tackle them all successfully; sometimes our problems confuse us and at times people even begin to doubt our competence. But I would like to assure you that there is no cause, whatever, for despair or dejection. It is only three years since we won our freedom but these three years brought terrible calamities to our land, the brunt of which was borne by you. I am grateful to Divine Mercy by the grace of which we had the strength to overcome our troubles and survive disasters, so that, having regained our lost balance, we can, once again, march steadily forward. I would, therefore, urge you to maintain your courage and confidence to solve any difficulty which may yet come and to put before the world, that which we wished to accomplish; also, to make real our dream of India becoming a happy and prosperous country. We have to continue working for the ideal which Gandhiji had placed before us. We should not lose heart if we have not made any appreciable

Reply to the address of welcome presented by the Ambala Cantonment Municipal Board on January 6, 1951.

progress, but if we persevere, with hope and courage, we are sure to succeed.

I recognise the part which the Government can play in the realisation of this dream, but the power of the Government is nothing but the strength of the people it represents. If we, the people, lack vigour and initiative, the Government, particularly an elected Government, can never have these qualities. If the people are weak and incompetent, their Government would be weak and incompetent too. A Government is, only the reflection of its people. I am confident, therefore, that a concerted effort on the part of our people would eliminate whatever difficulty we might be faced with.

There are different views held by the people today. Some believe in speed while there are others who favour a slow but steady pace, but I would urge that you tackle with courage the task ahead of you. There is no lack of work in India because when a free nation faces difficult problems, it needs willing and efficient workers. Even though India has a population of nearly 36 crores, we feel the shortage of people who would devote their entire energy and time to serve the country selflessly, and until such people come forward in large numbers, the country cannot forge ahead.

We should not feel that, with the advent of freedom, our responsibilities are over and that we can sit back and rest on our oars. On the contrary, freedom has brought with it fresh responsibilities, and I am convinced that we need much greater sacrifice and effort today for the reconstruction of our country than we did to win our freedom. India does not belong to any one particular person, community, race, or political party; it belongs to us all and demands in return some contribution or the other from each one of us. The measure of what is gained from the country is the measure of what we give to it, and without our own contribution, our demands on our country will yield us nothing. Once we have done our bit we should entrust the fruits of our endeavour to God. The Will of God moves through the work of man: we are but instruments of His Will, and should continue to perform the task allotted to us.

I hope that you will maintain the progress which you have made in the provision of education and the prevention of disease. Both are essential and the local self-governing bodies should help in them so that the people working in these local institutions gain experience and be trained to serve in higher capacities. In their early life, many great

Englishmen served in Boroughs or similar local bodies and thereby gained valuable experience to perform great things later in their life. Today, all committees that exist in India, whether village panchayats, municipalities or local boards, provide similar opportunity of training to their members. These institutions were established by the English with this very objective. They thought that, as in England, people by serving on local bodies would gather that necessary experience which would stand them in good stead when they tackle more important questions. You have this opportunity before you, and the limitations which formerly circumscribed these bodies have now been removed giving you complete control by your work. I am confident that through a proper use of the facilities you have today, you would be able to work for the greater good of the country.

EDUCATION NEEDS REFORM

I am very pleased to lay the foundation-stone of the new building for the Ramjas College. It was an opportunity which I could not have missed. As has been said, Lala Kedar Nath had dedicated his life, after retirement, to the service of this and other institutions associated with it. Not only this, but he used to give away even his pension to the students for whose benefit he had started these institutions. Himself, he lived on the kind bounty of one of his friends. You have observed that the foundation of this institution has been well-laid today, but to me it appears that it was well-laid on the day when Lala Kedar Nath had taken up this mission with a great faith and in a spirit of sacrifice. Any work that is taken in hand with conviction and confidence, sincerity and determination, is bound to be successfully completed.

The institution which had begun merely as a school has grown into a big college and has multiplied into several schools for boys and girls. I hope they would continue to grow still further now that it is being moved into the University area. I believe that this phenomenal growth is the outcome of the promise which Lala Kedar Nath had made to his father. He had promised to win for him the love and affection of hundreds of children in return for the one child that he had lost. Lala Kedar Nath acted on his word with determination and wisdom. It was his labours that made it possible for us to see this day—the laying of the foundation-stone of this new building.

It is my conviction that our present educational system needs reform in several directions. One of the needed reforms to which I would like to draw your attention is that the system should be such as may develop a spirit of co-operation and friendliness among the students for their countrymen. At present, I find that the educational system creates a spirit of separatism and snobbishness. Lala Kedar Nath had well realised this and it was for this reason that he used to live with the students and share in their joys and sorrows, their studies and sports. By his simple life, he placed before the students an illustrious example.

I hope that the institution, whose foundation-stone is now being laid in the University area, would be able to have greater achievements to its credit than other institutions. As the Principal has already said in his speech, this institution has made a name for itself in the academic

Speech delivered on the occasion of the foundation-stone-laying ceremony of the Ramjas College in the University Enclave on January 17, 1951.

sphere as also in the sphere of sports. I hope that it would continue to maintain the tradition of high thinking and simple living which its founder had given to it. I believe that India as also the world stands in great need of such a tradition. Let me hope that this institution will set an example to other universities and colleges by producing worthy young men and women. I am sure that the mission which had been undertaken by Lala Kedar Nath with devotion and faith and which you are now carrying out, would certainly be fulfilled and that you shall never have to face any financial stringency whereby your work may be hampered. Many people would come to your aid seeing the great and good work that you are doing. May this institution continue to flourish more and more is my prayer.

SUCCESS AND FAILURE—A RETROSPECT

Just one year has elapsed since India became a Sovereign Democratic Republic and the Constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly came into force. It is worth while taking stock of what has been achieved and wherein we have failed.

The early part of the year was disfigured by communal tension and ugly incidents occurred in East Bengal leading to a large exodus of Hindus from East to West Bengal. These were followed by similar incidents and exodus of Muslims from West to East Bengal. A pact was arrived at between our Prime Minister and the Prime Minister of Pakistan as a result of which the situation has gradually improved and a large number of the emigrants have gone back to their original homes. It is to be hoped that confidence will be created so that a repetition of such incidents may become impossible. Minorities must be assured of a safe and honourable existence, and given opportunities to grow and develop and become contented and loyal citizens of the State to which they belong.

Side by side with the communal pact, there was also a trade pact with Pakistan which partially enabled trade between India and Pakistan to flow freely. It is to be regretted that on account of the failure to reach an agreement on the question of exchange-ratio, trade relations are not yet established on a footing of profit to both parties and each has had to look to distant countries for the supply of some of its requirements and the disposal of its surplus goods.

Disputes with Pakistan continue on some matters which are vital. The Security Council of the United Nations had appointed Sir Owen Dixon as Mediator for bringing about a settlement of the Kashmir question. He spent some months in this country, but unfortunately his efforts failed. Recent talks in London have led to no better results. We have always been prepared to let the people of Kashmir decide freely what they want, but we cannot be expected and are not prepared to abdicate our legal rights or shirk our moral duty to the people of Kashmir pending that decision.

The question of evacuee property is of vital importance to us, but we have not been able as yet to secure a settlement with the result that our

Broadcast to the Nation on January 26, 1951.

work of rehabilitating millions of people has become impossible of satisfactory accomplishment.

Apart from our disputes with Pakistan, our relations with other Asian countries have been most friendly and cordial—so also with countries further abroad. We hold and believe that armed conflict and war solve no existing problems but create new ones and with the progress in the invention of destructive weapons now achieved, a war spells ruin and devastation on an unprecedented scale and threatens the extinction of modern civilisation. With that conviction, our Prime Minister has used all the prestige of his great personality and the goodwill of this country to limit the scope and extent of conflict. The deep wounds of the last World War have not yet been healed even in countries which are supposed to have won it—not to speak of those that lost it. We can only hope and pray that humanity will be spared another disaster. The greater and stronger a country, the heavier is its responsibility to do all it can to avoid and avert disaster.

Although we are a republic, we have decided to remain in the Commonwealth. We have maintained the friendliest relations with Great Britain and other members of the Commonwealth, based on a recognition of one another's complete independence and a mutual understanding of one another's interests. Our regret is that no progress has been possible in securing for people of Indian origin, born and settled in South Africa, a position as citizens of that country consistent with self-respect and the requirements of civilised life.

Coming nearer home, we can take credit for having done whatever was possible with our resources in rehabilitating those who had been forced to leave their hearths and homes and properties and estates and to emigrate to India from Pakistan. There were at the end of November 1950 more than 3 lakhs of persons on dole in relief camps. More than 8 lakhs of displaced families from Pakistan have been allotted land for cultivation. Roofed accommodation in urban areas has been secured for more than 21 lakhs of displaced persons either in evacuee houses or in barracks, government quarters, etc., or in newly-built houses. Small loans have been given to more than 140,000 people, the total amount being more than Rs. 9 crore. Big loans have been given to displaced industrialists and businessmen numbering 5,000, the total amount being nearly Rs. 5 crore. Employment has been secured by the Employment Exchanges for more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of persons. Altogether, Government-expenditure on displaced persons during the financial years 1947-48 to 1950-51 is estimated at Rs. 98.50 crore. The displaced persons have

suffered great privations with patience and dignity, and have been trying to restart life and stand on their own legs as best they can. With all our efforts, however, the work of rehabilitation is yet far from being complete and, considering its tremendousness which was added to considerably in West Bengal in the early part of the year, it could not be expected to be completed. All that I can say is that the Union and State Governments are keen and anxious to do whatever is possible and with the experience that has been gained, the work is being tackled with greater effectiveness and speed.

The financial and economic position of the country has been constantly engaging the attention of our ministers. It is to be regretted that on account of financial stringency, we are not able to undertake constructive work on as large a scale as we would wish to. Some large projects which are expected to yield great benefits by controlling floods and providing irrigation and electric energy on a large scale—leading to industrial development—have registered satisfactory progress. Our only regret is that we are not able to undertake more such works and to spend as much over those already in hand as we would like to. In other directions also, greater progress would have been achieved if more finance were available and the money market had not been as tight as it has been. Production has not kept pace with requirements. This has been so, especially in the matter of food, largely on account of causes beyond our control. We have had a series of natural calamities which have damaged our crops on an extensive scale. We have difficult and anxious times ahead and need all the foresight, resourcefulness and sacrifice our people are capable of, to tide over them. We are trying to have larger imports than we have ever done hitherto, but it is not so much these imports and their proper and equitable distribution—essential as these are—that will really solve the problem. It is the resourcefulness and determination of the people that will enable us to see things through. The years open with a large balance of trade against us, but when once we decided to put it right and set to work, we have succeeded in wiping it out. So God willing, shall we do with the food problem.

Our Constitution has come into force, but we are still passing through a period of transition and are being governed by certain transitory provisions laid down by it. This will continue till the general elections are held under the Constitution. Preparations are being made for them, but the work is so vast, involving more than 170 million voters and more than 3,500 seats to be filled up, that it has not been possible to complete them. It is hoped that we shall be able to hold the elections in November-December next.

The work of consolidation of the former Indian States and assimilating them in what used to be Indian Provinces, has gone on successfully. Under the Constitution, they have as honoured a place and as useful part to play as any other unit of the country. The burden of this work as also of maintaining law and order in the country was borne by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel whose passing away at this critical time in our history has dealt a stunning blow to us and created a void which cannot be filled up. His farsightedness, matchless powers of persuasion and organisation, a realistic appreciation of the situation and firmness and determination have brought under one federal constitution and one central administration a much larger part of the country than ever in its long and chequered history.

Our work as a free nation has just begun. We are confronted with difficulties within and the horizon is overcast with dark clouds without. We have to gird up our loins and face them. God helps those who help themselves. So let us deserve God's help.

OUR PATRIOTIC PRINCES

It was only two days ago that we celebrated the anniversary of the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India. I, the first servant of the State and President in the words of the Constitution, am visiting for the first time, the part of India which used to be ruled by Indian Princes under the protection of the British Empire. Since the advent of freedom, conditions have changed all over India including the part where Indian Princes were ruling. The British Government decided to hand over sovereign powers to the representatives of the Indian people and to withdraw their troops which were the symbol of that Empire in India. This resolution was duly carried into effect. Naturally, the Indian Princes and Rulers could not but take similar steps in their own territories. This was inevitable because there was considerable political awakening among the people who were demanding the transfer of power. Moreover, the Princes were inspired with national self-respect and patriotism. It was because of these facts, I believe, that the peaceful change was so quickly carried through in the administrative system of the princely States. The credit for inducing the Indian Rulers to agree to this change goes to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and to the policy of non-violence which Gandhiji had made popular in this country. We have before us a practical demonstration of how this policy should make it possible that the people as also the Princes who from an individual point of view were losers—alike remained happy and contented.

I am sure the Princes are as sorry and grief-stricken at the death of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel as the common people. This is true in spite of the fact that by his tact, talents and charm, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel had caused some "loss" to the Princes by inducing them to transfer their powers to the people. Now, power is in the hands of the people and the responsibility of government is on the shoulders of popular representatives. The Rulers and the subjects have to march forward shoulder to shoulder in the task of creating a new India. Poverty and misery must be banished and we have to make our land a peaceful, prosperous and powerful nation whose glory and greatness would in no way be less than that of any other country of the world. The history of our land has been a glorious one and all of us can derive inspiration from many great events in our long and chequered history.

Translation of speech delivered in Hindi at the unveiling ceremony of the statue of Maharaja Chhatrasal at Panna on January 28, 1951.

We have been able to complete the integration and complete unification of our country. Even a glance on the map of India would show to us the significance of this event. In spite of two wings of our country having been cut off, we find that India under one Government today—in point of area, population and resources—is much greater than it ever has been in the past. This important and essential objective, we have been able to realise by our own co-operative effort. Now, it rests on us to complete the work of making this country prosperous and happy—a work which requires the services and the support of all Indians.

We have gathered here to commemorate one of the heroes of India's glorious history. I am deeply grateful to all of you for asking me to unveil at this auspicious celebration, the statue of Maharaj Chhatrasal the famous and brave hero of Bundelkhand. I always feel great happiness in paying my respectful homage to brave men,—whatever country or creed they may belong to—who by following the path of justice and righteousness have succeeded in freeing their country and making it prosperous.

This is the first time that I am visiting this part of India. Revered Thakkar Bapa had toured this region a year and a half ago. I read what he had written about it in the press. He had found this part of Bundelkhand to be very backward and poverty-stricken. It is our misfortune that he has departed leaving innumerable poor people grief-stricken and sad. I have heard quite a lot about the beautiful natural scenery of this region as also of the splendid temples of the Chandel period at Khajuraho. Such talented poets as Keshavadas, Lall and Padmakar also belonged to this region. Maharaja Madhukarshah, Rao Champatirai and Maharani Lakshmi Bai were the other bright jewels of this region. Just like Rajasthan, the Vindhya region is also famous as a land of heroes. But it is a matter of regret that historians have paid either very little or no attention to this region. Rajputana has been fortunate in having such great historians as Col. Tod, and Sri Gauri Shankar Ojha. It is true that the history of India requires to be written afresh. Some work in that direction is being satisfactorily carried on at present. In my opinion, the preparation of authentic history based on adequate research should be taken in hand at as early a date as possible.

How amazing it is that there is not even a mention of such a great hero as Maharaja Chhatrasal, in the current history text-books of our country. His memory has been kept green by "Chhatraprakash" of the poet Lall and "Chhatrasal Dasak" of the poet Bhushan. "Chhatraprakash" had been almost entirely lost, though its English translation

by Capt. Pogson was published by Major Price of the Fort William College in 1820 at Calcutta. Later, this historic epic was published by the Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha. A book about Maharaja Chhatrasal has also been published in Marathi. Its Hindi translation, I read some years ago. Someone has also written a book on Chhatrasal in Bengali. I have heard that another book named "Bundelkhand Kesari" had been published by someone. A few stories and miscellaneous articles have appeared in periodical journals. Recently, I saw a small booklet named "Maharaja Chhatrasal".

So far as I know, this is about all the literature that is available on Chhatrasal. Even from this limited literature, we can get a fairly good idea of the love of freedom, justice and God that the great patriot of the 17th century had. Throughout his long life of 80 years, he continued to wage an incessant struggle for the freedom of his country. He founded a fairly extensive kingdom and gave it a very good administration. All this was due to his courage and bravery, but the qualities that have made him a memorable and a great figure of the age were other than these. He had not the least trace of pride in him. He went to Shivaji who was then at Singhagarh and got himself initiated into the cause of freedom in all humility. Nor did he have the least hesitation in asking for military support from Peshwa Baji Rao. There was not the least trace in his liberal mind of such narrow racial feelings as create a distinction between a Rajput and a Maratha. Another of his great qualities was that he always fought against injustice and oppression and not against any religion or creed. According to "Chhatraprakash", besides Rajputs there were Kayasthas, Bhats, Ahirs, Dhimars and Baris in the army of Chhatrasal. His army included persons of the sweeper caste as also a Muslim Sardar named Fauji Mian. Like Shivaji, he treated Muslim women like his own daughters. He never acted treacherously towards his enemies nor did he ever raise his arms against unarmed people. In war and in administration he was always on the side of justice. I may add that he had inherited all these qualities from his great father Champatirai. Gratitude also was one of the great qualities of Chhatrasal. Even when he had become a great ruler he did not forget Mahabali, his servant, who used to take him out for horse-riding during his childhood. It has become a saying which is prevalent, I understand even today, in this region that "Chhatrasal Mahabali always did the right". The title of good brother had been given by him to the horse which had protected him at a time of great danger. He is also well-known for honouring persons of merit. How could the poet Bhushan not consider the honour

paid to him in the Court of Chhatrapati Sahu much too insignificant in comparison when Chhatrasal put his own shoulder to the pole of the palanquin in which Bhushan was being carried? Impressed by this unrivalled honour shown to him the poet sang :

"Now shall I not think of any other sovereign
Sing I shall only of Sahu and Chhatrasal."

Maharaja Chhatrasal was himself a good poet. Recently, I had occasion to read the collected works of Chhatrasal and I may add that some of the verses, whether devotional or political, are of a very high order. It is really surprising how, in that life of unceasing struggle, could he get time to compose such sweet verses. But in view of the tradition of the great heroes of India, it is nothing impossible. In our country, we find the simplicity of heart and depth of devotion combined with the spirit of bravery. There was no place for political intrigue in his brave heart and it was precisely for this reason that it remained ever flowing with the milk of kindness instead of being a dry and arid desert. From the poetical works of Chhatrasal it is clear that he was a man of great piety and a remarkable devotee of Lord Krishna. He had the fortune of having the society of Swami Prananath as also of Mahatma Akshar Ananya. I think that it was because of the influence of these great people that he never came to have any pride about his great military feats. His conviction in his own words was, "Fame comes to the man—to God who giveth his devotion". He never considered himself anything more than the humble servant of the Lord. When he was offered a royal 'Mansab', he flatly declined to accept it and said, "What glory is there in accepting the largess of man. The Mansabdar of the Lord of Brija I am". A brave man, ever ready to throw away his life for the good of others, can seek no other protection and patronage except that of the Lord. The Father of the Nation, the unrivalled Satyagrahi, Mahatma Gandhi, had also no other anchorage except in God. "He destroys the pride of the proud. The pride destroyer ever fulfils his troth." Chhatrasal, instead of considering himself the master, used to treat himself as the servant of the people. It is on record that, among his political advisers, there used to be represented all the heads of each caste and community. It was for this reason that he had become so popular.

I am going to unveil the beautiful statue which the Chhatrasal Memorial Committee, the descendants of Maharaja Chhatrasal and the people of this region, have caused to be made by a talented sculptor. But I would ask you to remember that our duties to our great ancestors do

not end merely with the installation of their statues. This is only a very ordinary means of paying our homage to the brave. That is why we did not encourage the installing of the statues of Mahatma Gandhi in this country. In my opinion, the best way of showing our respect for great men is to follow in their footsteps. We should imbibe in our lives the great qualities which had made them great. These qualities are their spirit of sacrifice, their love of truth and morality, their patriotism and service of the people and above all their love of God. I pray to God to give us all, the capacity to imbibe the great qualities of its great heroes so that we may tread the path of love and truth and may become capable and sincere servants of our secular State.

EDUCATION TO BUILD CHARACTER

I have noted from your report that the Agra College is the oldest in Northern India and that it was founded under a pious and charitable endowment. Any work that is undertaken in a spirit of piety and righteousness is bound to succeed. It is the sincerity and high purpose of Pandit Gangadhar Sastry which has flowered into this big institution from which innumerable students have gone out to serve their country. It is really a matter of pride for you to be associated with an institution having such a long and glorious history. I hope that you will continue to be inspired by the high purpose and sincerity with which this institution was originally founded.

I am fully aware of the fact that in the educational system that we have inherited from the past, there is little provision for character building and moral training of students. The result is that even those who are able to make appreciable progress in the development of their mental faculties, are not able to make similar progress in the moral sphere. I do not in the least suggest that the educated people of the present day lack character. What I mean is that if there had been as great a stress on character building as there is on intellectual development, we would have been far ahead of where we are today. A very clear example of the results of pure and high purpose is before you. Mahatma Gandhi sent a wave of awakening in this country, but he did so by and for dedication to the Truth and the Good. He, no doubt, defined his creed in terms of non-violence and truth but, in fact, it rested on what may be termed, a spiritual vision. It was this spiritual vision which diverted us from our self-seeking pursuits to the path of dedicated service and patriotism. I may add that it is on account of this spirituality that we have been able to achieve success in our own life-time and all our countrymen are able to congratulate themselves on being free citizens.

I would now like to draw your attention to the work that lies ahead. Our generation of older men is now about to pass away and one by one its members are departing. The void thus created has to be filled by the students of the present day. I hold that our generation was really fortunate in having been able to participate in the glorious struggle for the freedom

Translation of speech delivered in Hindi in reply to the address of welcome by the Agra College and the Agra Students' Union on January 29, 1951.

of our country. We did our utmost to win freedom and at long last succeeded. But, this freedom would remain hollow and meaningless if the people of this country are not able to derive the maximum advantage and good out of it. To give substance to our freedom is a great task, indeed, and is in no way less important than the winning of freedom was. Formerly, there was only the alien rule that was to be overcome. The problems that face us today, are many and multitudinous in character. The responsibility of tackling all these complicated problems has fallen on the shoulders of Free India. It is now up to you to solve these problems in a way which may enable our people to hold their heads high. I may, therefore, say that our present task is much more difficult than that of the past.

Our country is very backward from the educational point of view and, consequently, we suffer from a serious handicap in all that we undertake. In spite of the labours of the British Government and our own during the last three years after the advent of freedom, I am afraid there are hardly 12 to 15 per cent of the people literate in this country. Another problem to which I would like to draw your attention is the existence of many types of diseases and epidemics in this country. These questions and others have to be tackled and solved.

You might be reading in the newspapers, with some pride, about the effort made by our country to preserve international peace. I hope that ultimately our efforts will succeed. One may well wonder, why the nations of the world have regard and respect for our country in spite of the fact that ours is a poor and economically backward land. In my opinion, it is all due to the fact that we have been trying to follow the path that was laid down for us by Mahatma Gandhi who was almost Divinity incarnate and who had sacrificed himself for our good. If we remain firm and fast to this path and continue to follow in his footsteps, we shall always receive regard and respect. Mahatmaji, in his life-time, insistently denied that he was in any way a supernatural being. He always insisted that he was just like other men and that there was no difference between him and others. Anybody, he said, could be what he was. This is quite true. If one reads his autobiography, one finds that he came across all the difficulties, trials and temptations that befall an ordinary man. He had to face moral perplexities, economic difficulties and, of course, political problems. He solved them all in a selfless spirit. It was because he was able to do so that he became so great and glorious a man. Any one can reach his stature, if he is possessed of a high purpose, spirit of sacrifice and sincerity.

It is my earnest wish that this institution should produce men of high purpose and noble character who may serve the country in the hour of her difficulties and trials. I hope that this college which has been doing such fine service for so many years and which has produced many great men, would continue to serve our people with increasing success. Complete co-operation between the students and the teachers is essential for achieving good results. I do not think that you have invited me today merely in the hope that my visit would facilitate your getting financial support for converting this college into a University. I do not mean that I have no intention of helping you in the matter of funds. I would do what I can. But, at the same time, I want to emphasise that you should learn to stand on your own feet. It would indeed be a great thing if you could do so. Such a spirit of self-reliance would enable you to make an effective contribution towards the progress of the country.

I would like to refer also to the constant criticism of the Government. It may well be that some of the criticism may have some substance. That, there are complaints, no one can deny. If, however, the nature of these complaints were to be examined, it would be found in ultimate analysis that they arise because our people do not have the nobility of character which our countrymen used to have in former times. I would certainly like people to criticise the Government freely. At the same time, I would urge that before doing so, they should have a clear understanding of what the term 'government' really signifies. It is the people's own representatives that constitute the Government today. Naturally, if the representatives are good, the government would also be good. If the representatives are not proper persons, the Government also would not be a desirable one. Improper persons can be elected as representatives only by people who are themselves suffering from serious defects. It does not behove those who are themselves lacking in moral character to throw the blame of their own shortcomings on the shoulders of others. I would, therefore, say that if there are any faults today, the responsibility for the same lies on every individual. If, however, the people of this country are sound in character and their representatives alone are shirking their responsibilities, it is for the people themselves to bring them to the right path and to make them fulfil the trust that they have placed in them. I mean that the defect today is in our own character.

Whenever I get an opportunity, I make it plain that our country needs minds of a very high order. Our country had produced talented people even when it was in bondage. It is true that our students have been securing the highest positions in their examination results even in

foreign lands and have thus acquired high merit in foreign universities. India does not lack brain power nor is it backward in games and sports. I understand that the Indian hockey team which went on a tour of foreign countries never sustained a defeat anywhere in those countries. Our country has thus made progress and earned a name for itself in these spheres. In the moral sphere, in comparison, we find ourselves lagging behind others and in any case much more backward than our ancestors. We learn from the descriptions left by ancient Greek travellers that the people of this country were not in the habit of locking their doors. Those of us who might have gone to the hills might be knowing that even today there is a similar custom prevalent there. The traders just put a piece of stone on their merchandise when they have to leave it unattended and they find it completely intact when they return. Today, unfortunately we find that black-marketing is rampant and none of us has the least hesitation in taking a larger quantity of rations than what one is strictly entitled to. I do not think that it is legitimate to say that all this is due to the weaknesses of Government officials. My view is that the producers, the distributors and the consumers alike are at fault. The difficulties from which we are suffering today are the product of our own moral shortcomings. I would, therefore, urge you to develop your moral character side by side with the development of your mind and body so that no one in the world may dare to point the finger of scorn at us. I hope that you would be giving the same earnest attention to this question as you have given to organising these celebrations today or to extending a welcome to me.

THE FARMER'S PROBLEMS

I have been associated with agriculture in many ways. An agriculturist in a small way myself, my interest has grown with years. At the present moment, our country stands in need of agricultural development more than anything else. Being an agricultural country, it is really a matter of shame that we should have to depend upon other countries for our food. It is a challenge not only to the agriculturists of the country, but also to the scientists who are engaged in agricultural research. We should be able to produce what is required for our own food requirements. It is not in foodgrains only that we are deficient. There is scarcity also of fruits, vegetables, milk and milk-products. It is, therefore, necessary that the Agricultural Research Institute should devote itself to research work of a kind which may actually and immediately benefit agriculture. As far as I am able to judge, the kind of research which should be conducted by this Institute and by others under the auspices of the Research Association, is not research of a fundamental character such as we have in laboratories dealing with physics or other sciences. Here, we are essentially concerned with research of a type which can be made immediately available to the people and applicable to the solution of problems which arise in our daily life. It is from that point of view that I look up to the Institute to help the Government and the people in solving the food problem. Of course, fundamental research has its value and undoubtedly research work in this institute will benefit from the latest results of such fundamental research. But, so far as practical problems of everyday agriculture are concerned, we have a right to look to this Institute and to other institutes similarly engaged, for assistance.

There are various problems which confront us, but in solving all these problems, no one who is associated with agriculture in India can ignore one fact. It is, that ours is a country of agriculturists who have small holdings. One must remember that while the number of agriculturists runs into hundreds of millions, their holdings are of such small size that the results of research meant for large-scale farming cannot be of much assistance to ordinary agriculturists. In the first place, the resources of the ordinary agriculturist are very limited and he cannot afford to apply the results of research. In the second place, he cannot, even if he could afford to purchase those things, easily get everything that

Address to the Governing Body of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research on February 5, 1951.

may be suggested. So, in dealing with these problems, all research workers have also to bear in mind the fact that we have to deal with a large number of people who do not have much education but who are not, for that reason, any less intelligent. Whether it is research in agricultural engineering or in soil-chemistry or in improvement of plant-breeds or in the prevention and destruction of pests, you have to bear in mind these fundamental limitations.

We hear a great deal about the improvement of agricultural machinery. Undoubtedly, the instruments that are used by our agriculturists are mostly of a primitive type. One of the reasons may be that they have not been able to find anything better. You can be helpful to them only if the improvement is such as can be easily effected by the ordinary farmer. That is to say, if you were to devise a new plough, it must not be a very costly one. Then, it must be light enough to be operated by ordinary bullocks available in the country-side. It must again be suitable for the particular soil where it is used. Therefore, if useful results are to be achieved, our agricultural research has to be conducted not in one place where you have got only one kind of soil, but in many places where you have got different kinds of soil. As you know, the cattle that we have in this country differ in quality from province to province, very largely on account of climatic conditions. A plough which can be easily drawn, say by a pair of bullocks in Hissar cannot be drawn by a pair of bullocks of the Tarai districts of my province—Bihar. You have, similarly, different kinds of ploughs. If you give the plough which is used in Champaran in Bihar to agriculturists in the Punjab, probably much of the bullock-power would be wasted. I am mentioning these little things from the experiences of small agriculturists because I consider that these factors play an important part in research work.

Coming to Soil Chemistry, we have such a variety of soils in this country that you can grow almost anything in some areas and nothing in others. It is, therefore, no use telling agriculturists that they should grow only a certain crop. It must be a crop which is suitable for the particular kind of land. The quality of land also depends very largely on the availability of water for irrigation. Agricultural Engineering and Soil-chemistry are so closely connected that it is impossible to separate the one from the other. A central institute, like the one that we have in Delhi, has in the first instance to co-ordinate all kinds of research work which is being conducted in different parts of the country and on different lines. More than that, it has to set the standard for the various institutes spread all over the country.

There is another aspect of the question which is really no part of research. I wish to draw your attention to the problem of carrying the results of research to the agriculturist who is not an educated person. If, somehow or the other, it can be shown to him that an improved method or seed or an improved instrument will, ultimately, be profitable, he will not be slow to accept that improvement. My own experience is that the agriculturist is a shrewd person. He may not be literate, but he has intelligence enough and he has the background of experience which enables him to judge for himself. He is not averse to change, but is averse to experimentation at his own expense. If somebody else does the experimentation and proves to his satisfaction that the result is going to be profitable, my own idea is that he will quickly adopt changes that may be suggested. I have found that they have readily accepted new varieties of sugarcane where they have found them to be more profitable. They have also quickly taken to a new strain of wheat where it is of better quality, giving a better yield and bringing in more money. They have also adopted, though to a much smaller extent, better strains of paddy.

I know that a great deal of research-work is being done in this Institute and in others, but I am not sure if the results have been propagated to the same extent among agriculturists. Even where it has been done, I am not aware if farmers have accepted and adopted the results. A different kind of approach is, therefore, necessary and that approach can be through some sort of organisation in close contact with the agriculturist. There may be agricultural associations for particular purposes or particular individual workers who may, by their example, actually show to the agriculturists that new methods are really profitable. I believe the Government can do much by having small farms in special areas and for specific purposes. For instance, in an area where the main crop is sugarcane, a sugarcane-farm is required. I think—without wishing to be unjust to anyone—that demonstration farms are not as useful or helpful as they should be because they are run on lines which are not quite appreciated by the ordinary agriculturists. The officers concerned are, sometimes, not easily accessible, or the methods that they adopt for propagating the results of research are such that they do not always appeal to the agriculturists. Whatever the reason may be, it has to be investigated why these demonstration-farms have not served as model farms from which all the agriculturists could learn and start working on the same lines.

At the present moment, food is the biggest problem before us. It is up to the scientists, the Agriculture Ministry and the farmers to see that

our dependence upon foreign imports is removed as soon as possible. There is a great future for this Institute and for agricultural research. Not only will they be doing a great service to the country but they will also advance their own cause if they devote themselves wholeheartedly to research work of a kind which will be immediately helpful to agriculturists. I desire to convey my congratulations in advance to all those who have been trained and are going to be awarded certificates for proficiency in research work. I hope, when they go back to their respective places after their training in the Institute, they will devote themselves to their work with enthusiasm.

BIRLA VIDYA VIHAR

I am not a stranger to Pilani nor is Pilani a new place to me. I came here for the first time in 1940, on a short visit. Since 1945, however, I have been visiting this place practically every year and have thus had the opportunity of seeing personally the progress that the Education Trust has made from year to year. I saw this building, which is now almost complete, when it was under construction. I have seen with considerable interest the growth of your hostels and other buildings. I had also become, in a way, associated with the Birla Education Trust by becoming one of its trustees. But since I assumed office a year ago, due to the conventions and rules by which I have come to be bound, that relationship had to be terminated. But the old bond of affection that I had for this place still continues. When, therefore, I was asked to associate myself with these celebrations I accepted the invitation gladly, because not having been able to visit this place for the last fourteen months, I wanted to see the progress that had been made during this period. Since the last three years I have been acquainted with the teachers and students because whenever I came I was able to meet you all at one function or another. Consequently, even though I now occupy a new position, you should not for a moment think that I have changed, but should rest assured that the relationship which then existed between you and me still continues.

Even though Pilani is a small town, it has developed into an important centre of education. We see today that in a place where there was not even a single literate person, higher education is being imparted in the arts and sciences. An Engineering College, besides a residential school for girls, has also been established here. This girls school is now going to be raised to the status of a degree college. Besides a Montessori school for children, there are also a number of primary schools, a very good high school and a Sanskrit *Pathshala* run by the Trust.

Probably there is no other place in our country where the people have contributed so much to the growth of industry and trade as the people of Rajasthan. These people carry on their business transactions in one way or another, wherever they might be. When the telegraph system did not exist, their business used to be conducted by means of letters. Later on, they began to use telegrams but now-a-days the radio

Speech at the opening ceremony of the Engineering Block at the Birla Vidya Vihar, Pilani, on February 11, 1951.

and the telephone are used more often. Wherever traders live, all these facilities should be and usually are made available. When I came here a few years ago, I saw a small booklet containing information relating to the educational institutions here. I remember, one of the descriptions contained in it shed considerable light on the history and the growth of the educational institutions. From that pamphlet we know the conditions that prevailed when there was no one here who was conversant with English and if a telegram was received it became a problem to get it deciphered. A man once received a telegram and he asked the few boys who had acquired a smattering of English to decipher it. It was a kind of test for them and the boys failed to pass it. The recipient of the telegram was surprised and a little annoyed for he wondered what the teacher had been doing if not a single boy could even read a few lines of English. He asked the teacher why the boys had made so little progress. The teacher replied that the telegram was from Calcutta and the boys had not yet learnt to decipher a telegram from such a long distance. If it had been from a nearer place like Delhi or Jaipur the boys could have deciphered it. This explanation by the teacher appealed to him and he felt convinced that the progress made by the boys was, after all, not so unsatisfactory. In the same Pilani, we see that today thousands of students receive the highest education in almost all subjects. Moreover, any one, if he is so inclined, can talk on the telephone to his friends outside Pilani and there is no longer any difficulty in deciphering a telegram. Moreover, the installation of the power house has made it possible to supply electricity for domestic use. Besides, those who are interested can, by going to the Science and the Engineering Colleges, find out for themselves how the radio can bring the news from the most distant places to their own homes. This small village has made such progress that not only local students, but students from all parts of our country come here for their education. There are also, scholars from all over India to teach them. All this has been possible due to the efforts of one single family and it is something which cannot fail to impress any one who sees it. I, therefore, congratulate most heartily the Birla family and particularly Shri Ghanshyam Das Birla who is the very soul of these institutions. I would also like to appeal to those who are similarly blessed by Lakshmi to utilise a part of their wealth for such a purpose. Not only on my own behalf but on behalf of all and particularly of the students and teachers of this place, I congratulate the members of the Birla family and pray to God that He may keep them in this path of good and that He may awaken in the heart of other rich persons, the same desire of devoting themselves to the common good.

Coming to the conditions of academic life, I find that the buildings are commodious and beautiful. All the equipment and materials such as a big library, good laboratories, etc., required for an educational institution in modern times, have been provided here. There is adequate living accommodation provided for the students and teachers alike. Not only extensive playing grounds but also other amenities necessary for games are provided and by taking advantage of them one can build up a sound and strong body. There are arrangements for good and nourishing food. Everything that is necessary for an educational institution is available here, but no educational institution or a university can be made into a first-rate educational institution by the mere provision of all the necessary materials and amenities. The teachers and the students constitute the soul of an institution. Others may, no doubt, provide all the necessary equipment, but love for the good, the development of a moral character and possession of a sense of duty, coupled with high ambition can be contributed only by those who are there to teach or to study. It is, therefore, the duty of teachers and students alike that they fulfil the expectations with which these materials have been provided. For this purpose, complete co-operation among the teachers and the students is both necessary and desirable. It is my hope that the teachers will devote all their energy, learning and ability for the development of their students. To the students I would appeal that they use their time and these resources to their own advantage. It seems to me that an appeal of this nature is necessary today.

It has been the tradition of our country that man is not measured merely in terms of money and this is particularly true of scholars who impart education to others. In ancient times, a student used to live with his teacher or the *Acharya* and, just like the latter's own children, become a member of the family. The *Guru* had to bear the entire burden of maintaining the pupil and in lieu of fees, the pupil would gather wood from the forests or take the cows for grazing. Till comparatively recent times, it used to be considered improper to charge any fees for imparting education. But times have now changed. India cannot keep herself isolated from the rest of the world. Not only cotton, wheat and maize but everything else of value is measured in terms of money. We should neither feel surprised nor should we blame any one if those who have adopted the educational profession as a career, also measure their worth in terms of money. Such a development was inevitable, for, when social recognition is based on money, teachers could not but fail to come under its influence. Teachers have, therefore, begun to make demands for more money. Previously, the students used to discharge their obligations

towards their teacher by serving him while they were his students and later, when they had completed their education and entered family life, by imparting education to others. They, therefore, did not have any inferiority complex nor did they demand any particular rights or claims of their own. Today, forgetting their own duty and propriety, students are giving great importance to their own rights in all spheres of life. Naturally, many of our students do not realise that they join educational institutions to acquire knowledge and that they should be grateful to those who have provided the facilities for their education. On the contrary, they believe that they have certain birth rights which it is necessary for them to exercise notwithstanding that such a claim might be prejudicial to the pursuit of learning. That is why, practically every day, we hear of students going on strikes, pretty much as factory labourers. Our country is at present going through a transition in which the ancient and the modern, the west and the east, the indigenous and the alien currents of thought are pressing against one another. It is not, therefore, a matter of surprise that a lot of superficial foam has come to the surface—a foam which has no substance in it. I expect the students and teachers of this institution to drink the pure water that is flowing beneath this churned foam, without worrying whether its origin is in the east or in the west. Rather, I think that it would be desirable that not only are these two currents united to form one single current, but also that their fertilising waters are carried through canals and aqueducts to every corner of our country so that the mental soil of our countrymen may become, once again, green and fertile.

I sincerely thank you all for having afforded me this opportunity of coming here and joining you in these celebrations and also for the welcome and affection that you have given me. It is my fervent hope that this institution would continue to progress and become, one day, the seat of an ideal University.

EDUCATION IN LEADERSHIP

It is youth who would succeed to the heritage of history as also to the burdens and responsibilities of the future. The happiness and prosperity of our people would depend very largely on their idealism and enthusiasm, devotion and loyalty. I always find very great pleasure in being with young people. My pleasure increases all the more on an occasion like this when I am able to encourage young boys and girls who have distinguished themselves in different spheres of life by awarding them suitable prizes. I extend my congratulations to them. At the same time, I would like to say to those students who, for any reason, have not been able to secure any prize today to remember that it is not success so much as the firm resolution to succeed that matters in life. If, therefore, they have not been able to win the distinction which their more fortunate brethren have, they should not in any way weaken in their resolve or slacken in their efforts. On the contrary, they should ever continue to strive with undying enthusiasm and inexhaustible faith for achieving the highest success in their lives.

During its long existence, numerous princes have received education at this college; and after qualifying from here have devoted themselves to the service of the country and of Rajasthan. It inspired them with modern ideals and developed in them the secular attitude towards life. It was to a certain extent a result of this education that when in 1947 the Rulers of Rajasthan and other Indian States were faced with the problem of choosing between national unity and their own personal sovereignty, they, of their own accord and with great pleasure, preferred national unity and surrendered their sovereign powers to the Union. Instances of such a political revolution are rare in human history. In my opinion, the Princes derived the strength to take part in this unique revolution from the ideals which this college had continued to plant in the minds of its princely students throughout these many decades.

Conditions have changed. We are engaged today in the establishment of a society in which all citizens would have equal rights and responsibilities and in which all of them would be at once rulers and subjects. I am satisfied to find that those in charge of this institution have realised the significance of the change and have opened its doors to members of every class and section of our society. I am glad that they want the

Speech at the Annual Prize Distribution function of Mayo College, Ajmer, on February 13, 1951.

college to serve the citizens of India in general and of Rajasthan in particular with the same devotion with which it had served the scions of the Ruling Princes. Our country needs large numbers of young men and women having qualities of leadership and great physical and moral strength. I think that institutions like yours would continue to play a very important role in the production of young men of such character and ideology. Public Schools can successfully realise this objective simply because they do not remain satisfied with imparting mere book knowledge to their students, but also try to mould the entire personality of these students so as to make them most suited to collective life. Besides, they carry on this work in a social and cultural atmosphere in which it can be completed with the greatest ease. Throughout their academic career in these institutions, students have to live collectively and so naturally acquire the habit of collective living and endeavour. Moreover, through the influences operating on them, these institutions seek to mould their lives. Students remain completely free and unaffected by distracting influences. Without much difficulty, these institutions are able to develop the personality of the students according to the ideals which these institutions have placed before themselves.

I would like, at the same time, to urge upon the managers of such institutions and the teachers working in them to be particularly vigilant about the type of leadership which they seek to produce and develop among their students. It should be one that is inspired through and through by the ideal of the good of entire humanity and by the passion to serve all human being. It should not be a leadership which seeks to exploit the time and energy of the less fortunate and capable of their fellow-beings for the promotion of its own selfish interests. The Gurukuls which existed in ancient times, in our country, also had as their objective the development of the capacity for leadership among their students, but the leadership that they sought to develop among their students, was such as to inspire each of their students to surrender their ego—like Krishna who devoted himself to the service of men even in the humble capacity of a charioteer in any crisis facing mankind. It is unnecessary for me to emphasise that the responsibility for guiding the common people lies on the educated, particularly those in whose veins flows youthful blood and in whose hearts there is the undying enthusiasm for making the future bright and happy. I, therefore, consider it a duty of these educational institutions to fill the minds of these future charioteers of society with the belief that the consummation of their life consists in, and only in, their dedication to the task of making human life fruitful and happy.

I think I should, at this moment, make it clear that this ideal differs to a certain extent from the ideal of citizenship. Behind the latter, there always remains a feeling that one should, without considering the rights and wrongs of a question or means, strive to promote and preserve the interests of one's own people, even though by doing so one may be causing injury or loss to the interests of other peoples. Such have not been, however, our traditions or the teachings of our ancestors. We did not think, even for a moment, during the course of our struggle for freedom, to injure the national interests of our alien rulers in order to promote our own interests. Our great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, had always placed before us the ideal of not adopting any means for the realisation of our interests which, from the moral or spiritual point of view, may be in itself an evil. I would, therefore, urge that while it is the duty of every educational institution to awaken the spirit of nationalism in its alumni, it is also its obligation at the same time—and this is much more true of an institution like yours—that it should fill the hearts and minds of its alumni with the great humanitarian ideal. This ideal which teaches man to look upon every individual as an image of God and to take to his bosom everyone of his fellow-beings without any kind of discrimination. Poet Tulsidas has said, "No one knows in what form God may come to one's door."

This institution is situated in a region, every bit of which has been made sacred and glorious by our past history and which has had the glory of keeping the head of our country high even during the greatest of political storms and stresses. Naturally, therefore, it is a special obligation of this college to establish within it a healthy atmosphere for the maintenance of that glory, the preservation of that historic tradition and for the flowering of that ideal of collective service. India's literary heritage can make a great contribution to the creation of such an atmosphere. Our literature is enshrined in the modern Indian languages as also in the two classical languages of India—Sanskrit and Pali. It is extremely rich and its study from the view-point of humanity is as important as the study of the literature of non-Indian languages. Its importance lies not only in the fact that, from the strictly artistic point of view, it is of a very high order, but much more in the fact that it is reflected in the daily life of our so-called uneducated common people. There is no part of India which may be unaware of the great ideal of charity for which Karma and the love of truth for which Harischandra have become bywords. Notwithstanding the numerous diversities which may be existing in our country today, this fundamental unity has always existed. I believe that it is on account of this unity that our people are

a nation in spite of the fact that they have had to pass through innumerable political and economic difficulties and disasters. Naturally, it is a duty of our educational institutions to make their young students familiar with this basic and fundamental unity existing within the hearts of our educated as well as uneducated people.

It may well be that literary works in non-Indian languages may be of a higher order in comparison to those that we have in our languages. But, I am sure no one can deny that it is difficult for our common people to love alien literature which cannot help us to have an adequate idea of the forces operating in the inner consciousness of our people. I believe that we can be votaries of progress only if we can carry our people towards the goals of economic and cultural prosperity. We will carry our people with us only if we correctly understand the impulses shaping their lives. We can have this understanding of our people by a thorough knowledge of the literature of our country in which throbs the historic mind of our people. I consider it absolutely necessary that the future leaders of our country should be made to cherish a deep love for our literature during their academic career. I would therefore like to emphasise the necessity of giving due attention to this matter and of making adequate arrangements for the teaching of our literature in your college.

I have already taken enough time, but, before I conclude, I wish to express my satisfaction for having learnt from your report that your college has been constantly making progress and that its students have been taking active part in serving the people in different spheres of their lives, particularly by taking part in the literacy movement. Even though I may not give you an assurance that, under the existing financial circumstances, my Government would give you any additional financial aid, yet I can say that your efforts to carry on your work with credit and success are duly appreciated. It is my hope that you will ever strive to make this college more useful and popular. It is my prayer to God that He may, in His mercy, give you the strength, the enthusiasm and the wisdom to follow your ideals with success and to enable you for many many years, to continue to serve the youth of India.

TRUE ART

I have no pretensions to any knowledge of art. But, in spite of that, I get thrilled whenever I come across any beautiful picture, or an inspiring passage in a drama or a beautiful piece of sculpture. The only test which, as a person completely ignorant of the technique of art that I am, I can apply in judging a work of art is the one which I have just mentioned, namely, that it should be able to thrill a person like me. I sometimes think that this is really the test which most people apply because I believe most people are like me.

In India, we have had a long tradition of art which goes back to many centuries. As in other countries, here also the original motive was religious and I feel even now most of our artists draw their inspiration from some kind of religion or spiritualism. To my mind, true art is not a mere imitation and copy of what generally we see either in human or vegetable life. I am just coming from a Flower Show where I saw very beautiful blooms and I was wondering if our artists could really give us more beautiful things than Nature has given us. If the artist does not merely copy and gives us something which cannot be imitated, then that is true art. It is therefore not only actual experience but something which afflicts man and which he cannot perceive with his senses.

It is just possible that in some cases the art which represents the culture of one country cannot be appreciated by the people of another country. But, all differences apart, there is a language of art which is different from the spoken language which appeals not so much to the heart as to the intellect. Here lies the difference between the two. The language of art appeals to the heart. It is, therefore, by its very nature a language which can be understood universally. I also feel that an art can bring out the best in the human spirit. I rely upon artists of this country to give us back our soul, to enable us to regain what we have lost.

It has been our tradition that the Ruler of the State used to patronise art and I believe that has been so in other countries also. Our art has suffered on account of lack of that patronage. Time has come when the State should give to art all the patronage it requires and deserves. Sitting in the Government House, I sometimes wonder if Your Excellencies would really prefer to see something which is Indian to something which is not Indian. I do not know what your Excellencies would like to see

Speech delivered while opening the All India Art & Craft Exhibition in New Delhi, on February 17, 1951.

but it is my feeling that you would like things that are Indian. I sometimes reflect on the desirability of decorating the Government House in the Indian style, replacing all that is not indigenous. It does not imply that what we have got from foreign countries is inferior. Your Excellencies have seen much of your own countries and if you know something more of India in the Government House, you will appreciate it better. Therefore, it is my ambition that, before I leave the Government House, I should get the present designs of decoration replaced. I shall feel then that I have done something which perhaps had not been done up till now. It is for the artists to help me in that work.

THE MISSION OF WOMEN

I believe that the past and present students of this institution are all very fortunate, for, they have had the opportunity of studying in an institution which was established under the inspiration of a high ideal. We are all aware that there are two kinds of educational institutions in our country—those which were established directly or indirectly by the British Raj and those which were established by patriotic people to awaken national sentiment in our country. The British could dispense power, position and pelf. Naturally, institutions working under their control never had any lack of funds or students. People receiving education there had always an expectation and a belief that after qualifying from there they would be able to secure cushy jobs under the State or to establish themselves in highly profitable vocations. The Government also used to grant them financial aid. On the other hand, institutions established by patriotic people had nothing else than knowledge and nationalism to offer to their *alumni*. So, they were always in financial difficulties and the number of students studying there was also small. The very fact that some of these institutions were able to maintain their glorious existence, in spite of short-comings and difficulties, shows their great value to the country.

This Vidya Pith is one of such institutions. I think that one of the factors responsible for its success is its Principal, Srimati Mahadevi Verma. There are very few institutions which are being controlled and run by such a talented scholar as Mahadevi Ji. Her poems, her essays and her philosophical thoughts are invaluable gems of Hindi literature. To have her as a teacher is no ordinary luck. I hope that all her students would for ever feel proud of having had this glorious experience. Their fortune is also enviable for another reason. This Vidya Pith is a point of confluence of the old and the new. Allahabad has been famous for thousands of years as the 'Sangam' of the Ganga, the Yamuna and the Saraswati. It should be no surprise to find within its bosom, a Vidya Pith which is a 'Sangam' of cultures. This Vidya Pith has neither neglected the past nor has it turned a blind eye to the new. It has accepted both the old and the modern and has brought about a beautiful harmony between them. It is through this harmony alone that the world of women in our country can be charged with that creative and constructive energy which is so essential for making the life of our people happy and prosperous.

Address at the Mahila Vidya Pith, Allahabad, on February 20, 1951.

Often, the impatient advocates of progress forget that the collective power of man is, to a very great extent, the gift of the past. In their impatience, some of them begin to think that the supreme success of a revolution lies only in destroying or neglecting the heritage of the past. There can be no greater error than this. With the heritage of the past, and without wasting their time and energy in needless destruction, they can successfully carry through the revolution they desire. It was with the help of the historic heritage of India that Mahatma Gandhi was able to vitalise and activate the slumbering energy of our people. I concede that the past can have a deadening influence on us, but this can happen only when we remain entirely blind to the dynamic nature of life and, therefore, remain indifferent or contemptuous towards new ideas. To remain untouched and unaffected by new ideas is bound to prove extremely injurious and harmful. Man must continue weaving new patterns into the texture of the culture inherited from the past.

The most important creative activity for mankind is the development of man himself. Since the dawn of history, this has been and still is the task and mission of women. It is they who transmit the heritage of the past to the future generations and it is they who protect this heritage within the realm of family and society. Even when there were no States, no churches and no priests, woman was the protector and the preserver of the social bonds and traditions. If the past, the present and the future were not linked by her tender body into an organic whole, there would have been neither any civilization nor any history. It is, therefore, all the more necessary for our women to realise their great role in social life.

We are today passing through a period of transition. We have to so organise our life that every individual of our country hears the call of his being and fulfils it. There are many people in our country who are not in a position to have any hopes or expectations. We have to bring about a rapid change in these conditions. Our women have a very great part to play in this connection as the mental and physical contact of women with life is much more lasting and comprehensive than that of men. Not for nothing was it said that 'the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world'. In the apron strings of woman is hidden the revolutionary energy which can establish paradise on this earth. Whatever kind of government or economic system we may organise, the empire of true happiness and peace would not be established in this world so long as the mental constitution of the succeeding generation is not properly developed during its period of infancy. For this reason, I believe that much more important work has

to be done within the sphere of the family than what is done in offices or factories. I do not, in the least, imply that woman should be a prisoner within the four walls of her house or that she should not have any contact with other aspects of life. On the other hand, I believe that complete freedom of woman is necessary for the progress and health of society. Freedom however implies that the best use of freedom is made in promoting the interests of all human beings. The freedom of our women should lie in their assuming the duty and the right of developing the body, the mind and the character of the next generation. Nature has made woman the nurse of the body and the nurse of the spirit. All those evils in our present-day society which prevent our women from carrying on this noble mission should be totally eradicated. The necessary changes must be introduced in our society in order to provide full opportunities for the unrestricted development of our women. Any kind of discrimination made between man and woman would prove fatal to our society. But, women should also understand and recognise their true mission. It is not very dignified on their part to forget this mission and try to get themselves enrolled into the class of exploiters. Women should assume their role as the ministers of the mind and spirit of men.

It is my belief that this Vidya Pith has been working for the fulfilment of this mission of bringing about a true revolution in human society. For progress towards this goal, it is necessary that this Vidya Pith should include such subjects in its syllabus as would give to its students a clear understanding of the role of woman in the evolution of human civilisation and culture. It should also make provision for such practical training as would enable its students to change the life of the common people of India in a peaceful and creative manner. Women can make the family and communal life of the country a temple of love, co-operation and happiness.

I would like to extend my congratulations to all those students who have passed their examinations in this institution and I wish them all success in their future life.

THE COLLECTIVE GOOD

I would like to congratulate you for having established this society to help literateurs and for having taken up the construction of this "Saraswati Mandir". I have great pleasure in laying its foundation-stone.

No one can deny that the life of literateurs in our country has been rather hard and full of struggle for the last many years. As you have stated in your report, "In a country under the sway of a foreign state and a foreign language, literary activities can be carried on only with considerable difficulty". Naturally, so long as the foreigners were ruling our country, literateurs had to suffer numerous difficulties. There has been some improvement in their condition after the advent of freedom ; but even today there does not exist the atmosphere required for the creation of literature of a high order. Though we have resolved that all our public administrative work would be carried on in the languages of this country after some years, yet neither the educationists, nor the students, have been able to free themselves from that lure of the English language which it had during the British regime. A large number of our educated people seem to be under the impression that our indigenous languages do not have, and probably cannot have, literature of such a high order as that in the English language. They do not therefore have much love for the literature of their own languages. I believe that many of the financial difficulties which our literateurs have to bear are in some measure due to this attitude of our intelligentsia, for their works do not acquire that popularity with educated classes as the works of literateurs in other countries do.

When I say this, I do not imply in the least that our people should have no love for literature of other languages. On the other hand, I am firmly convinced that the knowledge of English is extremely essential on account of its international importance and also on account of its having a literature of a very high order. Moreover, no person can be a successful devotee of the Muses unless he has soaked himself with the literature of all ages and of many countries. In fact, without doing so, no person can be considered to be properly educated. But, at the same time, I would like to emphasise that we cannot have a proper appreciation of the literature of other languages unless we have first cultivated a taste for it by studying our own literature. I am sure that by doing so we can also

Translation of speech delivered in Hindi at the foundation-stone laying ceremony of the Saraswati Mandir at Allahabad, on February 20, 1951.

free our writers to a very great extent from their financial worries. I have purposely used the expression "to a very great extent" because I know that their financial difficulties would not be over even then. Our present economic system does not permit them to secure their due reward for the un-ending pleasure and vital exhilaration, the sweet dreams and high ideals which they provide to their innumerable readers. Under the modern system, few economic activities are carried on for the benefit of society. Naturally, it often happens that collective welfare is sacrificed at the altar of self-interest. It is, therefore, no surprise that publishers acquire all rights in the works of our writers and poets. The brightest jewels of their ideas are appropriated at a very low price and the publishers make large profits while the authors lead precarious lives. I, therefore, feel highly satisfied to find that you have taken a constructive step to remove this injustice and exploitation.

I am convinced that the adoption of the method of co-operation for collective well-being—the path of *Sarvodaya*—is the only one by which injustice and exploitation can be entirely abolished from human society. You have adopted this method and, therefore, deserve our congratulations all the more. Since time immemorial, our country has held that the only way of carrying happiness and peace into the life of the Group and the Individual is for every individual to shape his conduct so that the lives of all other human beings are made pleasant. I believe, it was for this reason that the principle of non-violence acquired such a great importance and significance in our country. The Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, by placing this ideal before us, was able to infuse new life, energy, and creative power in the people.

It is my firm belief that if you remain true and loyal to this principle of creative activity and co-operative effort, you would succeed in becoming a great force in the work of reconstruction. God Almighty has given you the creative urge by virtue of which you are able to express, in clear and moving words, the thoughts and problems of your fellow beings. You can also inspire them with the will to action and the determination to join battle against the problems that are facing them. Today, millions of our countrymen are oppressed by frustration and misery. Our independence would have no meaning if we are unable to bring new hope to their unhappy lives. Those amongst us who are politicians have been trying to improve conditions by political means. It does not, however, lie in the power either of politicians or of engineers to awaken enthusiasm, energy, and devotion in the hearts of the people. It can be done only by poets and writers. But it is extremely necessary that litera-

ture instead of being a song of love should be the creative energy of the mother. It should be a means of creative activity rather than a mere object of enjoyment and pleasure. Many of our literateurs made a glorious contribution to our struggle for freedom. By their works, they fired the minds of the people with the irresistible urge for freedom.

Today, we need a different kind of literature—a literature which may make the people realise the need for collective endeavour. Much of the present indifference or inertia is, I believe, due to the fact that in our modern literature, we do not hear the echo of that ideal. It is my belief that the achievement of freedom was not so difficult as our present task is. At that time, our problem was merely to uproot the political power and sovereignty of a handful of foreigners. Today, we are faced with the gigantic task of providing education, housing and food for about 350 million people. We have, for this purpose, to expand our productive power. That can be possible only when every individual in our country stops depending upon the Government for everything. Every one should readily devote himself to productive, creative, and constructive activities. The devotees of literature can make a very important contribution to the fulfilment of this mission and I hope they will surely do so.

There are persons who give the label of progressivism only to such literature which describes the class struggle in society and incites the so-called exploited classes to rise against their exploiters. India, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, had discovered a new way of abolishing social exploitation. In our country, the ideal of those who hold the reins of social and political power is to establish a classless society, free from all exploitation. We have, through non-violent action, been able to wrest our freedom from a great power of the world. It should be still easier for us to create a new society without giving class struggle a violent form. Men of letters can be of very great help in this respect. Our country requires that all our literature should ring with the call of creative and constructive activity. It is my hope that your "Samsad" would guide the literateurs to follow this path and move in this direction. I also believe that those working within the temple, the foundation-stone of which I am laying today, would receive an inspiration to work for harmony and thus bring happiness and prosperity to all.



Inspecting a Guard of Honour presented by girl students of the Prayag Mahila Vidyapathi at Allahabad on February 20, 1951

Delivering a convocation address at Lady Irwin College, New Delhi on March 1, 1951



Replying to a civic
address at the University
Stadium, Trivandrum
on March 25, 1951



At the Government Livestock Farm, Hissar on March 3, 1951





Replying to the civic address presented to him at Madras on April 6, 1951

Inaugurating World Cancer Day at Madras on April 8, 1951



affiliated to the Delhi University, it has an importance of its own because of its peculiarities and deserves help not only from people whose children are receiving education in it but also from others. I therefore commend this institution to the charitable-minded people as also to the Government so that it may be able to fulfil the trust put into it.

To the students who have passed out and have just got their diplomas, I offer my congratulations. At the same time, I desire to give them some advice also. They go out with a certain prestige attaching to them and with certain responsibilities. They should always remember that in their bearing, in their conduct and in their general life, they have to justify the hopes of those who are running this institution and those who had started this institution. They have to prove to the society at large that they are useful citizens, that they are better citizens than those who have not had the good fortune of receiving education here. They must also feel that their responsibility is all the greater. If they succeed in rising to the expectations, the College will draw a large number of students and get more appreciation from the people. They have, therefore, to justify their merit in the College as well as outside it. Once again, I offer to them my congratulations and thanks.

IMPROVING THE CATTLE BREED

You are all aware that the most important problem facing us in this country is that of agriculture and that for any improvement in agriculture, it is absolutely necessary that we should have a very good breed of cows and bullocks. Milk, ghee, butter and other products that can be made out of milk are as important for us as food itself. We are, therefore, making all efforts that we should not only grow more food but also at the same time, produce milk in large quantities. It is said that India has more cattle than any other country in the world and that their number is growing every day. At the same time, however, it is our misfortune that, notwithstanding this large number of cattle, our people get a very small quantity of milk and milk-products for themselves. If we try to increase, even a little, the total milk yield, we are faced with the question whether we would be able to maintain in our country a larger number of cattle than we are doing today. We can, however, follow another course, that is to say, we can improve the breed of our cattle in such a way as to have cows which would yield more milk than what is yielded by the cows and the buffaloes now-a-days. We must also have an improved breed of bullocks for our agricultural requirements. Agricultural operations in other countries are being carried out mostly with the help of machines, but in our country the size of holdings has become so small on account of division and sub-division that machines are unsuitable for our agricultural work. Besides, there are other reasons which make us believe that in future we would have to rely for our agricultural work, mainly on bullocks.

You have seen the people who have been awarded prizes today and also the large number of cattle, everyone of them was able to maintain in good condition. You have also seen, today, different breeds of cattle. Amongst them were a number of cows and buffaloes having a good yield of milk as also some cows which, while they do not have a high milk yield, produce calves of very good quality. There were also some cows which have a high milk yield and also produce calves of good quality.

It was not long ago that this country did not have any milk or food shortage, but, conditions have arisen under which our people suffer from scarcity of both milk and food. The main problem is to increase the agricultural and milk yield if we are to keep ourselves alive. Such

English translation of the address in Hindi delivered on the occasion of the distribution of prizes at the All-India Cattle Show at Hissar on March 3, 1951.

exhibitions are, therefore, of great value. I consider it very necessary that all the cattle farms—whether Government or private—should devote their attention to this matter. There are thousands of *go-shalas* established by charity-minded people. Their aggregate revenue is crores of rupees which they are, at present, spending in their own way. I feel constrained to say that in establishing *go-shalas*, people have been swayed more by their charitable feelings rather than by reason. I think it more desirable that charity should be guided by reason, for it is only then that it would become more effective and beneficial to the people.

When I was the Minister of Food, Sir Datar Singh took the initiative in bringing about a central organisation of all the *go-shalas* in the country in order that guidance and help from one centre could be given to all of them. I understand that this work has made some progress and is still being continued. I found then, that all those who with such devotion and enthusiasm spent lavishly to serve the cow, did not take much time to appreciate new suggestions for the better and more effective service of the cow. They only require to be told of how they can do it. I think the main point that should be brought to their notice is that, at present, while they maintain at one place old, disabled, and useless cows only without deriving any benefit from them, they can, if they adopt new ways and new ideas of service, prevent the multiplication of inferior breed of cattle. They can thus help in the increase of milk-yield as also in the improvement of the breed. The ideal before *go-shalas* should be, to keep cows of the best breed. Besides, they should so segregate the feeble, disabled and the useless cows as to make it impossible for them to have any access to bulls. They should try to see that these die out after their time is over.

A few people in our country think, and particularly this is the case with people having modern ideas, that if such a large number of low-breed cattle remains in our country, neither would we be able to improve their breed nor can we derive any benefit from them. This view has begun to acquire increasing importance since the food shortage became acute. Our land area is, after all, not unlimited. We have to grow all the food and fodder for our people and cattle within this area. Therefore, it is felt by these people that the question before us is whether we should make provision for the food of our people or should we continue to feed unproductive animals. It is but natural that man answers this question in his own favour. I do not, however, think that there is any ground for pessimism. My feeling is that if we husband our resources properly, we can feed both our people and our cattle. It has been my

view—expressed also as Minister of Food—that we should make full use of the milk produced by our cattle as also of their calves, their hide, fat and bones and raise from them, money enough to maintain old and unproductive cows. One good cow should be able to provide maintenance for one old cow as well. In our country, the head of the family has not only to maintain himself but also his aged parents and his own family. My own view is that just as a man in a family earns to feed all his dependants, so also a good cow should be able to provide sufficient return from which its aged parents as also its infant issues can be maintained. I think a lead can be given in this matter by our *go-shalas*. They also have the necessary funds. If, therefore, they are able to give a practical demonstration as to how good cows can provide a sufficient return for the maintenance of disabled cows, they would be doing a service to the country. I would like the *go-shalas* to undertake this reform and to place before the country a fine example. The peasants who have to produce food, milk and butter for themselves, cannot be expected to undertake an experiment of this kind. Only the *go-shalas* can undertake it. Farms established by the Government or private individuals can also do so and they should undertake this pioneering work. They should concentrate on producing a breed of cattle which can help us realise our objectives without compelling us to slaughter old cows.

In our country, there is a religious sentiment attached to the cow and people do not like its being slaughtered nor can they tolerate that being done. Therefore, the advice sometimes offered that all useless cattle should be straightaway slaughtered, is given more out of bravado than out of wisdom. My feeling is that if we try to undertake this reform, we would not be able to make much headway and we would be creating opposition and discontent against us in quite a large section of the people. I, of course, believe that cattle of an inferior breed should be segregated from others and that all bulls of inferior breed should be sterilized. If this is done, I hope that the necessary reform could be effected within a period of 10 to 15 years and all inferior cattle would have disappeared without resorting to slaughter. It is plain that cattle of inferior breed would not last long. On an average, the span of life of cows and bulls is 15 to 16 years. Therefore, if this work is undertaken according to a plan, I do not consider the objective to be impossible of realisation. It is my earnest wish that this policy should be adopted.

Your district is famous for high breed cattle. The Haryana cows have a high yield of milk and also produce good calves. This breed must be preserved. This high breed attracts the attention of people of all

parts of the country and cattle from your region are exported to different provinces. There would be no harm if cattle from your region are sent out and preserved and protected there. Unfortunately, these cows which are sent out from here are not able to retain their high breed elsewhere. The difference in climate is partly responsible for bringing about a deterioration in their quality. The feed that is given to them at other places also contributes to this deterioration.

There is another practice which is very injurious to the country as a whole. The people carrying on milk trade in Calcutta or Bombay purchase cows from here and take them to those places. They try to make as much profit on their investment as they possibly can during one milking period of the cow. When the cow dries up, they do not want to bear any expenditure during its dry period. The cows of high breed which are taken from this region to those places, are therefore, sold to the slaughter-house after one milking period. People who are carrying on this trade find it more profitable to do so than to keep the cow alive. In this way, the Haryana breed is gradually being destroyed and I feel that the country is suffering a great loss. A cow which could have produced 4 or 5 calves is thus slaughtered in its youth and the country loses the milk which such a cow could have yielded later on. People who are interested in the service of the cow, have noticed this fact and they often press for the stoppage of this practice. I would like the authorities to pay attention to it and to devise ways by which cattle of such breed can be preserved.

It is a matter of regret that whenever the question of protecting the cow is raised, people begin to be swayed by religious sentiments. I think that in this matter we should not be influenced by religious sentiments at all. We should approach the problem purely from a national point of view. If we consider this question purely in its economic aspect, I am sure it will be realised that the slaughter of cattle of high breed which can produce good calves is extremely harmful to the country. I, therefore, feel that every one should help in the solution of this problem in his own way and try to preserve this high breed of our cattle.

I am pleased to see high breed cattle in this show and to learn that every year this cattle show proves that the breed of our cattle is improving. We hope that the cattle that is brought here next year would be still better than those brought today. It is a matter of congratulation to all. It is my earnest prayer that this progress shall be maintained in the future also. I think it necessary that those who are co-operating in this work should be encouraged in every possible way.

I am also pleased to find that Maharaj Pratap Singh has exhibited the cattle of his *go-shalas* in this Show. He has taken away the majority of prizes himself. I would like that not only one but many people should compete here in the Show and that there should be many persons like Maharaj Pratap Singh who can put before the people an example. This is, of course, also a special duty of all the farms run by the Government and I think they are discharging it. Private people also should do the same. I hope that this Cattle Show would provide encouragement to all the people in the neighbourhood. It is a very good work that you have undertaken. I hope that this work will not suffer from any lack of funds. People already have the necessary enthusiasm and you have only to increase it further. Whatever may be the period—five, seven or ten years—after which we are able to add even half a seer of milk to the daily milk consumption of our people per head, it would not be considered too long. I think that would really be a very great piece of work. I cannot say, today, how far you will succeed in it. Often, our plans are big and ambitious, but in spite of very extensive preparations, we are not able to carry the work to its fulfilment. Funds are sometimes not available and the work has to be stopped. My feeling is that our plans should be on a small scale so as to enable people even of ordinary means to make their contribution. If the burden is distributed over to the shoulders of ten persons we would be able to realise our objective more easily.

I am happy to find that the three prizes have been awarded to the persons who have been able to raise the largest crops of wheat, paddy, and potato per acre. My desire is that such prizes should be awarded also for improvement in the breed of cows so that people may receive the necessary encouragement for doing so. The plans which we cannot successfully carry through on a large scale, should be broken up into small plans. The genius of our people has been used to completing big projects by doing them in pieces on a small scale. True to that practice, we have to use for irrigational purposes numerous wells. At the same time, we are trying to complete such a huge project as the Bhakra Dam. It is when we combine the two that we can do good to our country. I would like to congratulate all those people who have been recipients of prizes today and also the Agriculture Ministry for having organised this Show. It is my hope that this work will continue to register progress day by day.

UNITY AMIDST DIVERSITY

A foreigner unfamiliar with Indian conditions would, if he were to travel across this country, see so many diversities that he might easily think that India, instead of being a single nation, is an aggregate of nations, each one of which is different from the other in many respects, particularly in aspects which are visible to the naked eye. He would see many physical diversities of a far-reaching character, such as are usually to be seen only in a continent. He would see the snow-clad Himalayas at one end of the country and as he moves south, he would see the plains watered by the Ganges, the Jumna and the Brahmaputra, and then the green table-land lying between the Vindhyas, Aravali, Satpura, Sahyadri and the Nilgiris. If he were to travel from west to east, he would see similar diversities and varieties. He would experience all types of climate ; the extreme cold of the Himalayan regions, the scorching heat of the plains in summer, the record rainfall of 500 inches in the Assam Hills, and the dry arid climate of Jaisalmer where not even four inches of rainfall is recorded during the year. There is no food crop which cannot be grown in India, nor is there any fruit which cannot be cultured here. There is no mineral which is not found in India nor is there any plant or animal which is unknown in the forests of this country. By studying the people of the different geographical regions of India, one can see the effect that climate has on the physical features, intellect, manner of living and the diet of a people. Similarly, there are several important languages spoken in this country without taking into account the vast number of dialects. Also, people of every known faith live in India and just as the dialects of this country are too numerous to be counted, it is not easy to count the exact number of sects into which the main religions of this country are divided. Naturally, it would not be surprising if in view of these diversities, a perplexed foreigner exclaims that India is not one country but an aggregate of countries, and that it is not one nation but a collection of nations ; for, to a person who does not delve deep beneath the surface of things, the diversities alone will be perceptible. But a careful examination reveals, beneath all these diversities, a unity which threads all these diversities into one, in the same way in which a silk thread, unites different kinds of beautiful gems into a single beautiful necklace of which not a single gem is separate or can be separated from the others ; and each gem not only charms by its beauty, but adds

Address delivered at the inauguration of the All-India Cultural Conference at Delhi, on March 15, 1951.

to the beauty of the others. This is not a poetic fancy but a well-established truth. As a result of the confluence of the numerous independent fountains and currents which have maintained their separate existence for thousands of years, a single stream of Indian culture flows over the sub-continent. It is our desire and our effort that it may continue to flow in the same manner as it has done so far and that it may make immortal those forces which have been able to withstand the ravages of time. I may here echo the words of Poet Iqbal who said :

"Baqi magar hai ab tak namon nishan hamara,
Kuch bat hai ki hasti mitati nahin hamari,
Sadiyon raha hai dushman dauri-zaman hamara."

(We survive still as a nation. There must be some reason why our existence has not been destroyed even though the current of history has been inimical to us for centuries.)

This is an eternal ethical current which has been flowing in our country, and which occasionally incarnates itself into living forms. It is our good fortune to have had in our midst, a living human embodiment of this ethical faith—a person, who, by making us aware of that faith, infused new life into our lifeless bodies and put new cheer and courage into our dying hearts. That immortal principle is the principle of Truth and *Ahimsa*, which is vital not only for India but also for the continued existence of humanity.

We have already established a democratic form of government in this country which provides scope for the full development of the individual as well as a collective social and group unity. There is usually a kind of opposition between the individual and society. The individual desires his own progress and prosperity and if it obstructs the progress of another individual, a conflict is bound to occur between the two unless, of course, this conflict is resolved by each one of them following the path of his individual progress through the method of non-violence.

Our culture is rooted in the principle of non-violence, for we attach the greatest importance to the principle of *Ahimsa*. Another name or form of *Ahimsa* is sacrifice, just as another name or form of violence is self-aggrandisement which often finds its expression in self-indulgence. According to our philosophy, however, even self-gratification can be obtained through renunciation. Our people have found the highest joy and self-realisation through renunciation. The Sruti says "Enjoy that which has been given unto you by HIM." It is by this principle that we wish to resolve the conflict between individuals, between the individual and the group, between the communities and between nation and

nation. Our whole ethical consciousness is suffused by this principle. It is because of this faith that we let different ideological currents flow freely in their own channels, different creeds and faiths grow and flourish without any restraint, and different languages develop and blossom to their fullest possible extent. Also, we assimilated the people of different races into our own, absorbed their culture and permitted ours to mingle with that of the others and it was because of this that the links we established in other countries were forged with love and not with aggression. Never in our history did we use force to enslave other people to our power. If we won them, it was by winning their hearts and therefore, traces of our influence are still to be found all over the world, even though we ourselves have, in many respects, forgotten that ethical consciousness which gave us this influence over other countries.

Today, the most important problem before us is to find out how far this historic ethical consciousness which has been the main motive force of the life of our common people, can prove useful to us in the changed conditions of the present age. No one can deny that, in this connection, there are two currents of thought in our country. Some people are of the opinion that in the modern industrial age, an ethical consciousness which teaches man the lessons of non-violence, truth and renunciation has no value. They believe that in the competitive economic system of today, qualities of ruthless self-aggrandisement are absolutely necessary. We have, however, to weigh carefully, this aggressive egoism of the industrial age against the principles of humility and courtesy which are inherent in our ethical system and adopt one as the driving force and power in the revolutionary reconstruction of our country.

It would not be out of place to say that, in the West, the inevitable and unavoidable result of this aggressive egoism, has been the emergence, on one side of the theory of class war and, on the other, heartless political and economic exploitation reinforced by imperialism. On account of this, in the West, man has ceased to be anything more than a mere part of a machine and life is governed and regulated by the principle of "Might is Right". We have to decide whether cultural progress is invariably through this principle or whether it can also be achieved on the basis of the moral awareness to which centuries ago, the sages drew the attention of our people. It is, no doubt, true that though we may wish to, we cannot keep ourselves aloof from the progress that the West has made in the scientific sphere nor can we remain unaffected by its developments in the sphere of industry, and I do not think that such an attempt is desirable or even necessary. The only consideration that we

have to keep in view is the extent to which we can avoid their unnecessary evils while applying these developments to our country; that is to say, we have to consider how we can harmonise science with our own indigenous culture. I think, while considering this question, we have to remember that notwithstanding the many natural calamities and man-made evils which have afflicted our country from time to time, the creative urge of our people has not been destroyed or diminished. Empires rose and fell, different faiths flourished and declined and we suffered foreign aggression and oppression. Nature and man heaped numerous calamities upon us. Yet, we were able to maintain our existence, preserve our culture, and retain our vital and creative powers. Even during the darkest days, we were able to produce such thinkers and men of action who would, by right, have occupied the highest place in any age in the history of the world. During the period of our political slavery, we were able to produce such a man of action, faith and revolutionary ideals as Gandhiji, such a talented poet as Rabindranath Tagore and such great Yogis as Aurobindo and Ramana Maharshi. During the same period, we were also able to produce scholars and scientists to whom the world still pays homage.

Even amidst circumstances which had destroyed some of the famous civilisations of the world, we have not only been able to maintain our existence but have also preserved our intellectual and moral glory. It appears to me that the main reason for our survival is that our collective consciousness rests on an ethical foundation which is stronger, deeper and wider than the mountains, oceans and the sky. The collective consciousness of the nations which have perished, was imprisoned in the cage of race and language. It may well be that this cage was of gold, but nevertheless, it was a cage which enfeebled the inmate, with the result that when the cage was broken or had to be changed, national consciousness had become altogether helpless, nay even lifeless. But, our collective consciousness or in other words, our culture, has never remained imprisoned within racial, regional or linguistic boundaries. As I have already said, these different aspects of our life have been only different channels of its expression, but never have they been its crushing or stifling bonds. On the other hand, the fabric of our culture is woven by the threads of humanity. It is, no doubt, true that we have not been able to make it permeate every aspect of our life. To a certain extent, our fall was also due to our failure to make it the light of our life. But all the same it is there and we have to give it its due importance. Another point which we ought to consider is that this culture is the very life of our nation. It is this culture alone which unites our cities and villages,

different regions and religions, and different classes and castes, with one another. They might differ in all other aspects, but this is the only bond which unites them. It was the realisation of this truth by Bapu that led him to rely upon this ethical consciousness to bring the Indian masses, under the leadership of our intelligentsia, into the current of the revolution. The mass mind suddenly became active under the call of *Ahimsa*, Service and Sacrifice, simply because these ideals had been dormant in it for innumerable centuries. The far-sightedness of Bapu lay in the fact that he made the consciousness vibrating in the heart of the common people, the main driving force of our revolution; and in this lay his success. Even when a section of the masses had become maddened by communal passions, Bapu was able to control them in Bihar and Delhi by appealing to this ethical consciousness.

Of course, it is for you to consider whether this ethical consciousness needs to be modified to suit the modern dynamic age. But, as far as I think, it is basically in complete harmony with the needs of the modern age. The modern industrial civilisation cannot be confined within regional, racial or linguistic boundaries, for they are obstacles in its further development. It can rest only on a universal foundation. In my opinion, the conflict that we find in the West today, is mainly due to the insistence of the people, under the influence of their out-moded social psychology, on maintaining these divisions. The industrial civilisation cannot progress within those boundaries. These limits have to go, and it is only when they have been demolished that an industrial civilisation would be able to progress. The fact that our culture never gave much importance to such boundaries becomes significant in this connection. I feel, therefore, that if we have to escape the repetition of the injustices and atrocities which produce the conflicts of modern times, it is necessary for us to build our economic system on the foundation of the historic ethical consciousness of our country, and to make selflessness and social welfare the main driving force of our economy, rather than personal profit or self-gratification.

Each one of us should conduct his economic activities on the basis of this sentiment, emphasising individual duties and devotion to service rather than individual self-interests and privileges. I may add that the motive behind any action has great significance, even though two differently motivated actions may superficially appear to be the same. It seems to me that if all conflicts have to be eliminated, the ideal of service must be given universal acceptance. As long as this does not happen, conflict, whether among individuals or countries, would continue. As

long as this conflict continues, the miraculous and inexhaustible power that Science has placed in the hands of men, would continue to be used for promoting the interests of an individual or a nation by bringing about the suppression of other individuals and nations. I, therefore, feel that we in this country have to keep this ethical consciousness alive. We would also have to devise means which would develop the spirit of non-violence, service and sacrifice, and control the desire for self-gratification. Power, unless it is harnessed to ethics, will not prove beneficial to man. I believe that ethical consciousness alone can provide ethical control over power.

Today, besides the question of cultural harmony in India, we have to consider how we can make the beautiful literary works in different regional languages available for the enjoyment of the people. Is it not desirable that the literary societies of each regional language get their literary works printed in the federal script, *i.e.*, Devanagari? I believe at least, in Northern India, where the languages are inter-related, a literary work printed in the Devanagari script, would be enjoyed by almost all the people because of the close similarity in all these languages.

Further, the establishment of an Academy which could initiate an exchange of literary ideas through translation, would be worth while. It can also, at the same time, provide the necessary inspiration to the literateurs of the country, help in the creation of standards of literary criticism and in the creation of good and enduring literature. Literature is one of the manifest expressions of culture—others being music, dancing, painting, architecture and sculpture. India has continued to express its national unity through these various forms and, I believe, your society would reinforce and vitalise this tendency still further.

While you give your thought to these questions, I would like you to keep in view the couplet which Shah Jahan had inscribed within the Diwan-i-Khas :

"Gar firdaus bar rue zamin ast
Haminasto Haminasto Haminast."

(If paradise be on earth, it is here, it is here, it is here).

I believe that this dream will, one day, come true and paradise will be established on this earth, but only when the ideal of non-violence, truth and service becomes the basis and the principal motive power of human life.

THE GREAT EXPERIMENT

You have used very flattering words and have said many things which I think were better not said in my presence at least. People feel proud that it has become possible for an Indian to occupy such a high position, as I do. We have struggled for many long years and it was through the *tapasya* of Mahatma Gandhi, followed by countless men and women of the whole country, that we were able to achieve independence. Independence by itself, however, has not much meaning unless the qualities demanded by independence are imbibed by each one of us in our every-day life.

We have, in this relatively short period of independence, achieved many things. In the first place, we have succeeded in linking distant parts of the country. Although the north-west and north-east—as we had known it before—have been cut off from India what remains is bigger than it ever was. With the Native States incorporated, it is much bigger a land than any emperor had ruled over in the past. Another great achievement is that we now have one Constitution for the whole country. All the various States which were in some respects differently ruled, have now come under the aegis of one single Constitution. It was possible, largely due to the efforts of the people. The good sense and patriotism of the princes have equally contributed to our success in achieving all this.

We have a great heritage and it is now up to us to prove ourselves worthy of it. I know, we are passing through a time which may very well be called a period of experimentation. We are going to have general elections on the basis of adult franchise. The elections would be on a very big scale which itself shows that we are not afraid of the future. We hope that the right type of people will come forward to take over the affairs of the country. Every city, every town and in fact every village has its own part to play. Yours is a beautiful city and man has added to its beauty. We have undertaken a great experiment and I hope you will play an honourable part so that the people under your care may have a better, more prosperous and happier life.

In a city, the citizens have to be looked after and a corporation is maintained for that purpose. This organisation gives opportunities to members of the corporation for acquiring experience which may be utilised on a larger scale in the governance of the country as a whole. I feel

Reply to the civic address presented at Trivandrum on March 25, 1951.

quite sure that the experience you have gained here, in this corporation, will prove in every sense valuable for any one of you who happens to occupy a position in the larger sphere of administration. I am sure, whatever you do for the good of your people will have the fullest support of the citizens.

I thank you most sincerely for the honour you have given to me. This is the second time I am here and although both these visits have been short, I have seen enough of the country to carry with me the pleasantest memories. I look forward to future visits because whatever I have seen has left a hunger in me for seeing more. I can only hope that I shall get further opportunities of coming and seeing more of you.

THREE DIFFICULT YEARS

Ever since I landed in your beautiful city, 24 hours back, I have received such an amount of affection and kindness that I feel overwhelmed. I have been trying to visit the different States in the country and this is the first State in the South which it has been possible for me to visit as President of the Republic of India. I am really happy that I have seen something of this beautiful part of the country.

You are all aware that, within the last three years, we have had such tremendous changes in the country. Those who worked for *Swaraj*, in the years gone by, could hope for nothing better than what we have achieved. It is now for us to maintain the freedom that we have won and to make our people prosperous and happy. Our freedom will have no meaning unless its fruits are enjoyed by every individual that inhabits this vast land and unless every individual feels that he is better in every respect. A great responsibility has been cast upon all and what I want you common men and women of this country to realise is that it is no use leaving things to what is known as the Government. With adult franchise, we now have a system in which every individual has his share in the Government. We can no longer say that the Government is something different from the people at large. Every individual, high and low, must make his or her contribution to the betterment and prosperity of the masses.

We have, during these three years, been passing through rather difficult times. You in the South, who are so far away from the places where we have had such tremendous difficulties, may not fully realise the vastness of the catastrophe. You cannot, perhaps, appreciate the magnitude of the problems which our Government had to face on the very morrow of its existence. Vast masses of uprooted humanity, both in the West and in the East, had to move from their hearth and home, leaving everything behind, in search of a place where they could live with safety and honour. It was not a case of a few people. From the West alone, now known as Western Pakistan, not less than 5 million people, perhaps more than that, came to India. Some time later, a very large number—not less than 3½ million—moved from East Bengal to West Bengal. It was not easy to rehabilitate this vast mass of humanity and, although the Government has been doing its best, it is too early yet to say that we have succeeded in our task. The progress in the West has been considerable

Address at the public meeting in the University Stadium, Trivandrum on March 25, 1951.

and so far as the rural population is concerned, it may be said that practically the whole of the population has now been settled on land. But, they do not all have houses to live in. The towns-people have had greater difficulties to face. The agriculturist, when given land after he had moved from West Punjab to East Punjab, could begin life in his own way, more or less as before. The townsman who was doing some kind of trade or business, however, found greater difficulties in adjusting himself to his new surroundings. Trade and business in West Punjab employed not only the Hindus and Sikhs, but also the Muslims. Many of these enterprising people have managed to start life afresh although with some difficulty. The Government has been giving them all possible help. Thousands and thousands of houses have been built at Government expense for housing them. In growing townships, these people are working and building up houses for themselves. Similar work is being done in West Bengal where also large numbers have moved from East Bengal. The rehabilitation and resettlement of these people has been the greatest of the problems Government has had to face. Perhaps, we are now nearing the end of this problem, although it is still too early to say that we have actually dealt with it completely.

There have been other problems confronting our Government. We have had difficulties over food which you also have been experiencing as much as, if not more than people in other parts. Even before the partition, we used to import large quantities of foodgrains. It used to come mostly from Burma where they have a surplus of rice. Since the war, difficulties have arisen. Burma is not able to produce as much as she used to do before. A great source of supply was thus very largely cut off. Of course, Burma is now coming up again with larger and larger production, but it has not yet reached its pre-war level. This compelled us to import large quantities of other foodgrains from different parts of the world. We in the North regret it, but it cannot be helped. Here in the South where you are used to rice, you are being supplied partially with wheat and other grains to which you are not ordinarily accustomed. Unfortunately, that cannot be helped.

This year, Nature has been particularly unkind and we have suffered calamity after calamity which has led to a serious situation in many parts of the country. In the beginning of the last monsoon season, devastating floods followed heavy rains and in many parts the standing crops were completely washed away. We hoped that the next crop, especially rice, would be a bumper crop, but this time the rains failed completely. What

we had expected to be a bumper crop, was more or less completely destroyed on account of drought. Then, in Assam, we had one of the severest earthquakes and vast areas were completely devastated. The problem of rehabilitating the suffering people and carrying relief to vast numbers arose in that State. As if that were not enough, we recently had a visitation of locusts and in some parts of the country they have been damaging the wheat crop. The current year has turned out to be one of the most difficult so far as food is concerned. The Government, as I said, has been trying to meet this difficult situation and a larger quantity of grain than ever before is being imported. We hope that, in course of time, we would be able to control the situation. I desire, however, to impress upon you that the Government cannot save the people from a big calamity. It is the duty of the Government, no doubt, to do the best that it can, but it is really the people who have to face the situation with courage, with foresight, with a spirit of sacrifice and with determination. Wherever I have gone I have told the people that it is, after all, the people themselves who will have to gird up their loins and face the situation. I remember, three or four years ago, when I was Minister-in-charge of Food, we had a rather difficult situation. Reports, particularly from these parts, which reached me, began to give cause for anxiety. I mentioned this matter to Mahatma Gandhi and he said, "Whatever you can do, you should do. But, after all, it is the people who will see themselves through this difficult time. You may rest assured that whatever the suffering they may have to undergo, they will take care of themselves with the help of tapioca and fish that is in abundance there." I was glad when Mahatmaji's expectations did come true. We did not have anything like starvation deaths or anything even approaching that, in the area. So, with the worst situation facing us this year, I feel encouraged when I remember Gandhiji's words. I feel sure that the people will be resourceful enough to pass through the crisis even if the worst comes to the worst. Whatever the situation, it is the people themselves who have to resolve to meet the situation with courage and fortitude.

As you know, we are passing through what I may call an experimental stage in our constitutional development. I call it experimental not because there is anything in the nature of a temporary constitution, but because it is a democratic experiment on a vast and unprecedented scale. I was calculating the cost of the elections that we are going to have towards the end of November or early in December. I found that between 17 and 18 crores of people are there on our electoral rolls and if you printed all the names on one side of a foolscap paper and bound together all these sheets, you would have a volume which would be something like 200

yards wide. That can give you some idea of the tremendous task. We are going to have about 4,000 seats for which elections will have to be held and nearly 2 lakhs of polling stations where men and women of this vast country will be required to register their votes. You can realise what an army of men would be required as polling officers, as clerks, and as policemen to record these votes—something like 8 or 9 lakhs even if you recruit only 4 men for each polling station. All this is going to put the resources of our States to a great strain. When all the votes are cast, we shall know what sort of people our new democracy has chosen to rule over itself. It is difficult, at present, to forecast what is going to be the result of these elections and I can only pray that every individual who has got the right to vote will vote for the good of the country and the people. He must be actuated by only one motive and that is the prosperity of BHARAT. No one should vote simply for some little interest of his own or of some party to which he belongs. No one while voting will, I hope, be actuated by motives other than those of doing good to the country. If our people fulfil their duty, there is nothing to prevent this country from reaching the height of glory. Although it is an experiment, I feel we shall succeed in it. Undoubtedly, whenever a big change involving vast numbers takes place, many awkward questions arise. There may crop up many difficult questions which may look insoluble, but if we have faith in ourselves, if we have faith in God who has brought us to this stage, there is no reason to apprehend that anything but good will come out of our efforts. I have faith in our people. I say this as a result of experience, as a result of contact with millions of them, which it has been my good fortune to have during the last thirty years of my life. I have found that whenever an appeal has been made to their good sense and their patriotism, they have responded generously. I will mention to you one or two instances. Mahatma Gandhi, as you know, was very keen that there should be communal harmony. After the partition there were serious troubles between Hindus and Muslims, which, at times, alarmed him greatly, and he took rather drastic steps. Towards the end of October or the beginning of November in 1947, there were serious communal riots in my home province of Bihar. The Hindus had been treating the Muslims very badly in many places. Many of their villages had been looted, many people had been killed and their houses burnt. Shortly before, the Hindus had been badly treated by the Muslims in Calcutta and Dacca, and there was a feeling of retaliation. Mahatma Gandhi at that time was going to Bengal for the purpose of bringing about some kind of reconciliation between the Hindus who had suffered and the Muslims who had caused all the suffering. He made an announcement that unless the

riots in Bihar ceased immediately, he would go on an indefinite fast and, as a first step towards that, he also announced that from that very day he was reducing his food. I was then in Delhi as a Minister in the Government. I rushed to my province to see how we could best bring sense back to the people. Our Prime Minister was also there at that time. The Government was trying its best to suppress the riots. Police were active and military aid had been called in. But, as soon as this announcement was made by Mahatma Gandhi, it was carried from village to village. You will be surprised, but it is a fact that in less than 24 hours the whole trouble ceased and a kind of interminable quarrel came to an end in the twinkling of an eye. I was moving amongst the people then and I could see, in the vast congregations I was addressing, how this appeal went home and how generously the people responded.

A similar occasion arose soon after the partition. At that time, Mahatma Gandhi was in Calcutta. The Government in Bengal was in the hands of the Congress Party. On account of happenings elsewhere, feelings were roused and seeing that Hindus were now in power, some people were thinking of retaliating in Bengal. There also, Mahatmaji took the same step and Calcutta became quiet in no time. Sri Rajagopalachari, who was then Governor of Bengal, declared that Mahatma Gandhi had achieved a miracle.

I have mentioned these instances to show how appeals, when made for a just cause, received a generous response from all classes of people. In this country, we need nothing more at the present moment than peace and calm, so that the opportunity which we have now got for shaping our own destinies, may be utilised in the best possible way for the good of our people. As I have said, we have got power, but we have been so very busy with difficult problems that we have not been able to utilise them in the way and for the purpose of our liking. For that purpose, you require nothing more than peace—peace not only with foreign countries but peace within the country itself. I do not mean to suggest that there is anything like rioting or a general disturbance going on in the country. What I want, really, is the kind of peace which arises out of a conviction in the minds of all that they have to live together in the best possible way, so that the country can improve and prosper.

Mahatma Gandhi used to insist upon non-violence. We have so many communities, castes, religions, languages, different ways of life and customs prevailing in this vast country that unless all our people manage to live together in perfect harmony, prosperity cannot be achieved. It is for this reason that he was insisting that there should not only be peace

on the surface, but peace at heart and whenever any occasion arose he stressed the need of what he called a change of heart. Distrust is really a kind of weakness while trust is strength. When any individual or any community begins to distrust another individual or another community, whatever he or it may say only betrays its weakness. Our Constitution guarantees equality and security for the smallest community enabling the community to hold its head up. It must be the duty of the majority, however big it may be, to see to it that even the smallest community or the smallest individual does not feel that he is insecure. It is that kind of peace which we require more than anything else. Let me hope and pray that we shall have the courage, whether we belong to the majority or to the minority, to have nothing but fellow-feeling and goodwill towards everyone else in the country.

Not only in India, but in the world at large there is consternation and a feeling of insecurity amongst vast masses of humanity. The effort of our Government has been to ensure that peace is maintained and the area of conflict is not extended. Whether we succeed or not, we must do our best. But, we cannot do our best unless we are sure of our own selves. We cannot ask the world at large to be at peace if we ourselves are not at peace. For the sake of humanity, we have to establish a kind of rule in this country where everyone feels happy and secure and none has any fear or suspicion. That is the great experiment which our democracy is now engaged in and let us all make our individual contribution to the success of this experiment.

LANGUAGE, RELIGION AND SCARCITY

A Northern Indian, when he comes to South India, is faced with the problem of language. Unfortunately, I do not know your language and I have perforce to speak in English which I personally do not like. Hindi has now been adopted by the Constituent Assembly, and it is enacted in the Constitution itself that Hindi is the national language of India. We all hope that within the next fifteen years, everyone in this country having any all-India business will know enough of Hindi to be able to carry on his work and the language itself will be so developed as to become an easy medium of expression.

We have had this problem for a number of years. About thirty-five years ago, Mahatma Gandhi, realising the importance of a national language, directed his attention to the propagation of Hindi in the South. In the North, all the languages are more or less derived from one origin and are allied languages. Therefore, it is not so very difficult for a Hindi-speaking person to understand, for example, Bengali or for a Bengali-speaking person to understand Hindi. But, there is real difference between the languages of the North and the languages of the South, although here too Sanskrit has played a great part and many words are intelligible because they are derived from Sanskrit. The other day, I was listening to some verses which were being recited at one of the meetings. I could understand at least half of the words and I felt that except for the verbal terminations and such like things, the rest was all derived from Sanskrit. That is the great part which Sanskrit has played and when the Constituent Assembly adopted Hindi as the language for all-India purposes, it also laid down that we shall have ordinarily to depend upon Sanskrit for expressing all new ideas for which we do not have words in current Hindi. That is a common factor. With its help, I hope it will be possible not only for a person like me to speak to you in Hindi which will be intelligible to you, but it will be possible for you also to speak in that language so as to be understood by me.

There is no question of imposing the language of the North on the South. As a matter of fact, it is the will of all our people that we should have one common language. We have always felt that no nation can express its soul unless it speaks through its own language. During the struggle for freedom, someone said that it was impossible to win freedom through the English language. I believe, it is equally necessary for us to

Speech at public meeting at Herbert Grounds, Ernakulam, on March 29, 1951

realise that it is not possible for us to maintain our freedom through another language. Therefore, whenever I have to address any meeting in the English language, I feel that I am doing something which is rather awkward for me. During the last thirty years or more, I have always spoken at scores of meetings in my own language. I have in a sense lost the art of speaking in English, if I had at all possessed it at any time. Still, when I come to these parts, I have to speak in the English language. I can only hope that all those who do not understand what I am talking now, will excuse me for my inability. They will get, in due course, a translation of my speech through the newspapers which I am told are very well represented at this meeting.

This is by way of introduction, but there is also a very important element of urgency in it and I am anxious that in all our work we should give great importance to the cultivation of a common language for India. The Government will undoubtedly do whatever is necessary in this connection. However, here more than anywhere else, it is necessary that people should try to achieve the purpose through their own independent effort. It has been my privilege, during the last thirty years and more, to be associated with the work of the Hindi Prachar Sabha in the South and it has given me immense pleasure to attend meetings for distributing prizes and certificates. Apart from that, what has amazed me and pleased me equally is that I have seen and given prizes to three generations at one and the same time—father, son and grandson, all learning the Hindi language and getting proficiency certificates. The younger the age, the greater have I found the proficiency. It is really a matter for congratulation that you in the South have taken to this work so seriously and I have reason to hope that this problem will be solved. By the end of the 15 years which the Constitution has given to us, we shall be in a position to conduct all our business through the medium of our own language.

We have a number of problems, but some of them are of a basic nature and which underlie all others. One such problem is that of communal harmony in this country. We have got many religions and communities. Unfortunately, sometimes communal harmony gets disturbed for one reason or another. There would be nothing very peculiar about it if quarrels occur only occasionally, because quarrels do occur even among brothers, husband and wife, and father and son. All such quarrels are soon made up and affection does not suffer. Similarly, even if one community occasionally finds some cause for quarrel with another, that should not lead them to make this quarrel a source of perpetual irritation or to give it anything but a temporary character.

Fortunately, your region has a singular history of toleration and I am told that Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Jews have all been living peacefully for centuries. Even a casual visitor like me, while passing along the roads, can see temples, churches and synagogues side by side and one can understand that this was possible only because there has been tolerance and regard for all the religions.

My belief is—and it is the opinion of all true followers of all religions—that true religion is concerned with belief in a supernatural power. Since that supernatural power is above all and all others are like her children, all human beings must be, more or less, like brothers and sisters to one another. If that is the teaching of all religions, then, in spite of differences in the way in which we worship God, there is no reason why we should not really be brothers. Here in India, our ancestors—the Rishis, of old—realised this and laid down once and for all that the truth is one but the wise reach it by different paths. We want a realisation of this truth not only as a matter of intellectual conviction, but also as a rule of conduct to be followed every moment of our lives. It is impossible for us to rise to any height without a realisation of this truth. If we quarrel amongst ourselves, it is obvious that we cannot make any progress. All the effort that is wasted in suppressing one another can very well be utilised in promoting our common prosperity. This is one of the fundamental problems which this country has been tackling from time immemorial, but its urgency needs to be re-emphasised today when we have freed ourselves from foreign domination and are left to our own resources to shape our destinies.

Another fundamental question which naturally affects all of us is that of our economic set-up. We have, in this country, vast masses of humanity, some of them in extremely poor circumstances, not having enough food, clothing, and shelter. There must be millions and millions of men and women who are in such a condition in this country. On the other hand, we have only a few persons who are in affluent and happy circumstances. What we need is not the suppression of those at the top but the uplifting of those who are at the bottom and I cannot understand the philosophy which aims at levelling down instead of levelling up. What is needed is really the raising of the general standard of living. Sometimes jealousies are roused when a poor man sees his neighbour in happy and affluent circumstances. That is a natural instinct and we have to tolerate it, but we must be prepared to explain that they will be happier if both rose higher still and no attempt was made to pull down

the affluent and happy. After all, our per capita income is very low as compared to many other countries of the world. Unless the per capita income is increased, we cannot hope to raise the standard of living of all the people. We may to some extent be able to raise the standard of a few, but if all the present wealth be distributed equally, it would only mean a distribution of poverty. If we had enough wealth to go round and make everybody affluent, an attempt at redistribution would be understandable. Unfortunately, we are not so well off. I am, therefore, anxious that everyone in this country should realise that the primary duty is to increase the distributable fund. What is needed, therefore, is increased production of everything.

You know how we are suffering on account of food scarcity. We are trying, by means of controls and rationing, to distribute equally whatever food is available. A few people try to purchase a little more than others in the black-market. That is bound to occur when there is not enough to go round. I have always appealed to our people to increase our food production. Production can be increased considerably, without much effort, if we paid a little attention to it. I was telling another audience this morning that it has been calculated that our food deficiency is only about 10 per cent or so. I do not think it is at all a difficult proposition to produce say 11 maunds where they are producing 10 maunds today. If we did that, we would be able to get as much as we are getting today without going to foreign countries for our food purchases.

Similarly, we have experienced scarcity of cloth. Here also, it is the same problem. When there is not enough to go round, the only effect of control would be to give a smaller quantity of cloth to each individual. Of course, there may be defects in administration leading to a certain amount of corruption or black-marketing. All that you can expect, under the circumstances, is a smaller quantity for each and plenty for none. Therefore, what the country needs today is an effort by everybody for increased production of everything that we require.

We have attained *Swaraj* and for the last three years or more we have been running our administration according to our own desires and our own ideas. But, I have a feeling that all of us have not realised fully the effect and the importance and significance of independence. One effect must be a kind of elation in the mind of everyone which should express itself in a determined effort to make our lives better in every way. Somehow or the other, we do not find that. There seems to be a kind of

feeling prevalent in many places and among many people that it is for the Government to do everything and the people have simply to sit with folded hands. I do not think that is the right attitude to adopt. After all, the Government is nothing but a representative of the people, especially so in a democracy. If it is truly representative, it must represent not only the good points but also the weaknesses of the people. If the weaknesses predominate in the people, they cannot but be reflected in the Government also. If we find that our representatives are not always up to the mark, let us think over the question coolly and see if the weaknesses are not the same that each one of us ourselves possess. It is very easy to throw the blame on others. But, that is really no solution. We must turn the searchlight inwards and see to what extent we ourselves have contributed to anything that has gone wrong. If we are honest we would find that the contribution of each one of us has not been negligible. Once that realisation comes and once we feel that we have to set the house in order, we shall start doing it ourselves. There is a saying in Northern India that before going to light the lamp in the temple, you must light the lamp in your house itself. So, we must first of all light the lamp within ourselves. Simply thinking of lighting the lamp in the temple, neglecting our own selves, would result in that light also being dim.

We have not as yet fully realised the value of our freedom and are still in that frame of mind when we used to blame the Government for everything and did not search for defects in ourselves. That was perhaps a stage in our political evolution which was unavoidable. But, now that we have attained freedom, we must give up that habit and must feel that it is our own responsibility. The individual is, after all, the foundation of society. Society is nothing but a conglomeration of individuals. Unless each brick in the house is well-laid and is strong, you can never hope the building as a whole to be strong. We have, therefore, to improve the individual. There it is that we find a fundamental difference between two ideologies. There are people who think that it is the group which can keep the individual in order. My own feeling is that the group cannot be very different from the individual and any attempt on the part of the group to keep the individual in order is bound to fail. Certainly the group cannot be of a higher order than the individual. Who in the group is to lay down the rule, who in the group is to point out to the individual what is wrong? There is bound to be conflict, conflict of a perpetual nature. The only way to end conflict is to improve the individual. That is one of the fundamental differences between Mahatma Gandhi's teachings on one side which laid emphasis on the improvement

of the individual and all those other teachings in which more emphasis is laid on society. I hope that in this part of the country where education has spread to such an extent, you will see the difference between the two. After all, society cannot be composed of anything else but individuals and it can have neither the rules of conduct nor morality nor ideals which are different from those of the individuals. It cannot enforce something from above on the individual. It has to get its ideologies evolved after individuals. Let us, therefore, try to improve each individual in this country and through each individual to build up an ideal State from every point of view.

Mahatmaji laid stress on non-violence. It is on non-violence alone that an ordered society can be based. There is no use creating violence in the hope that by violence we shall be able to suppress violence. We have a saying in the North that you cannot wash mud with mud. For washing mud, you need pure water. For getting rid of violence, you require something much better than violence. You require non-violence and that is Mahatma Gandhi's teaching. He saw instinctively that in a country like India where we have so many religions and so many languages, unless non-violence is a basic factor in every-day life, there will be no end to our quarrels or problems. That is true not only of us, but it is true of the whole world. India is a sort of microcosm which represents the microcosm of the world at large. I have therefore emphasised, wherever it has been possible for me to do so, the importance of non-violence in our every-day life, in our dealings with one another and also in our dealings with other countries. There are, no doubt, circumstances which sometimes force our hands to do something against our better judgment. One can understand that and one may be prepared even to excuse such cases. But, if we knowingly deviate from the path, then it becomes a disease. What we need is a genuine effort to shape our own lives through non-violence. If in spite of that there are deviations, it does not matter because we shall be able, ultimately, to come to the right course. As night follows day, the difficulties which are facing us today will disappear if we fully realise that. If we once realise the full truth, there is no problem which cannot be solved. Therefore, it is essential that we must pay due regard to what Gandhiji said, we must not rest content with uttering his name only, but should gladly follow the path which he laid out for us. I desire to impress upon you, friends, that we cannot do better than walk in the footsteps of Mahatma Gandhi. There must be a genuine effort to follow that path. Once that is done, the rest becomes easy.

I hope I have not tired you too much and I thank you for the patience with which you have listened to me.

WORKING THE CONSTITUTION

I thank you sincerely for the honour you have done me by presenting me with this civic address. It is not my first visit either to Ernakulam or to this State, but, of course, it is the first visit by the President of India.

The first Constitution framed by free India came into force only fourteen months ago. During this short period, we have been trying our best to give effect to the various provisions of the Constitution. It has many unique features. It is based upon the experience gained by peoples in different parts of the world and I may tell you that we have drawn freely from the existing Constitutions of countries all over the world. We have tried to adapt them to our own circumstances—its success, time alone will show. It is an achievement not so much because of its various provisions, but because the unanimous will of the people of this country is embodied in it.

We have, in our country, many communities, castes, religions and many different customs and languages. But, India has always presented a unique spectacle of unity which underlies all this diversity. I am now here at the southern tip of this country. I come from almost the northernmost tip and I tell you sincerely that I do not find that I am different from you in spite of differences in language and customs and, to some extent, in respect of food. I hope many of you who have had opportunities of visiting Northern India, have experienced the same kind of unity in our culture. The Constitution has had to bring together all the different elements under one rule and, as I have said, the great achievement is that representatives from all parts of the country sat together and created this Constitution. There were stages when differences seemed to be more or less insurmountable and impossible of being ironed out, but, ultimately, it all came out well and we succeeded in getting unanimous support even on the most controversial points. It may be easy enough to write out a beautiful Constitution which may be perfect in reading. Yet, if that Constitution is not worked out honestly, it may prove to be more a curse than a blessing. We already have the first part done. We have got a beautifully-written Constitution. It, now, rests with us to work it out in such a way that the objective which the framers had in their minds and which has been expressed in such beautiful language in the opening paragraph of the Constitution may be fulfilled.

Reply to the civic address at Durbar Hall, Ernakulam, on March 29, 1951.

You know, it is not only what used to be the old British provinces which have been brought under this Constitution, but it extends over the former princely States as well. That has been achieved, as I said the other day, by the people, but the patriotism, the far-sightedness and statesmanship of the princes deserves due credit. All have combined to bring about political unity. Let us hope that all will combine in the same way to work the Constitution and achieve the great objective which we have in view. That objective is nothing short of the happiness and prosperity of this land.

We have numberless problems facing us from day to day. Some of them are most difficult, but God willing we shall surmount them. I need not refer to the various difficulties which are facing the people. There have been political difficulties and difficulties relating to law and order. We have succeeded to a considerable extent in surmounting those difficulties. New difficulties have arisen and the most difficult problem is that of food. I do not wish to exaggerate it, but it is no use minimising its seriousness. We are trying to face the problem, but, as I have so often said, whatever the Government may do, it is really the people who have to face the situation and solve the problem. The Government, of course, has to do its duty and you may rest assured that it is doing everything in its power to provide relief. We are trying to import as much food as we possibly can. This year's programme is to import larger quantities than ever before.

This country is vast and nature has given us a very fertile land and a climate in which almost everything in the world can be produced in this country. There is no fruit or grain which you cannot grow here; and with such a climate, with such an abundance of rainfall, with such fertile land, it is really a matter for consideration, why it is that we are not able to grow enough food for ourselves and why do we have to depend upon imports to feed our masses. There is something wrong somewhere and it is the duty of every responsible citizen to consider the cause and remedy it. My own feeling is, and that is based upon the experience of village-people of whom I am one, that the village-people are capable of rising to the greatest heights if they are given the right lead. If, today, we are not getting enough quantities of grain, there must be something radically wrong somewhere which is responsible for this shortage. It is for the Government, for the people, for all public workers to put their heads together and find out the cause. I believe we can grow enough food. After all, the shortage of food in the country as a whole is not very great. It has been calculated to be something like 10 per cent. Let us take it to be even 15 per cent. It should not be difficult to make up the deficit,

I believe, with a little more care in cultivation, with use of more manure and with a little better husbandry. It is quite possible to add another maund to every ten maunds that you are now producing. And while we are doing this, let us not ignore the fact that the Government is considering big schemes which will bring large areas under cultivation and irrigate large tracts which are not irrigated now. The problem of agriculture is really a problem of irrigation. I have seen, especially, in places like Rajputana which are now regarded as desert land that if you just dig a well deep enough to give water, you can produce crops. I hope that when these big river projects which are either in the process of being constructed or in the stage of investigation—are completed, there would be no scarcity of food in spite of our growing population.

We have, however, to feed the present population and for that purpose we need not wait for the big schemes to begin functioning. We can wipe out the deficit in production with the help of existing machinery and with a little more care and industry. I know that in these parts where you have been experiencing food scarcity, you are trying to grow and use more of tapioca so that it might, to some extent at least, reduce the dependence on rice. Let us hope that the experiments which are now being made, will succeed. Your success may also help the food situation in other parts of the country. I am not pessimistic about the future in spite of the difficulties before us today.

I would like to remind you that we are going to embark on a big experiment in the general elections that will take place under the Constitution. The Constitution will come into force in its entirety only after the elections. Although I am the President and I have all the privileges and responsibilities of the President, still, I am only a sort of temporary stop-gap because I have not been elected in the way in which the full-fledged President will be elected. That will be done in November or December next. But, you have to realise what a big thing you are going to do. The organisation of the elections itself is the biggest job that any Government has so far had to tackle. We have to record the votes of about 17 to 18 crores of men and women. The very numbers of the polling booths and of the voters that will come to them are unsurpassed in any elections known in history uptill now. Let us hope that we shall discharge our duty well and vote correctly and honestly for the good of the country and the people. Let us pray to God that he will give us strength to choose our representatives correctly and let us hope that they will have the wisdom and strength to conduct the affairs of this country in the right way. If we fail, then the Constitution also fails, but I have no doubt about our success. God will certainly help us.

THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY

I am glad that you have afforded me the opportunity of taking part in this function. I am particularly happy because you belong to a community from which the country was able to derive great benefits in the past and from which it hopes to get more in the future. Any person who has had some association at any time during the last thirty years with our independence movement must be aware that whenever the help of the business community was sought they responded to the appeal liberally. I remember particularly the time when we were planning to organise a complete boycott of foreign cloth and also to bring about a closure of the cotton exchange. I have special knowledge of how the business community did all that it could for the success of that move and also of the independence movement, because I happened to be free and out of prison at that time. Similarly, on many other occasions when an appeal was made to you for your help, your community helped not only by its valuable advice, but also in other ways. Thus, your past contribution to the country is commendable and I hope that in the future also, whenever the country makes a call on your services for the fulfilment of any of its needs, you will not lag behind in any way. You are all aware that this is a time of crisis not only for our country, but for the whole world. The people are deeply worried due to the scarcity of food, of cloth and high prices of other commodities. The Government, I am afraid, would not be able to surmount all these difficulties by its own efforts alone. It is, therefore, the duty of every Indian to do what he can, to help the Government tide over this crisis. It is my hope that all of you would give the country the benefit of your experience and would also do all that you can for helping the country at this time of difficulty. I know that in certain matters the policy of the Government does not correspond to your wishes. It is also possible that more differences may arise between the business community and the Government. Nevertheless, it will be conceded by all that the paramount objective before us is the survival of our country, our people and our State. Keeping this supreme objective in view, it is the duty of everyone, notwithstanding all differences, to make his maximum contribution to the service of the country.

English translation of the speech in Hindi on the occasion of laying the foundation-stone of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry's buildings at 28, Ferozshah Road, New Delhi, on April 2, 1951.

I am particularly happy for having been able to participate in today's auspicious ceremony. Your Federation has been in existence for a number of years, but it did not so far have a building of its own. I am happy to learn that you are now taking steps for the construction of such a building in Delhi. Delhi is today the heart of India. Naturally, it was in the fitness of things that you should have a building of your own in this city. It is my hope that when this building has been completed, your work would acquire a more stable and permanent character and you would be in a position to render greater and more effective service to the country. I would like to express my thanks to you once again.

MUSIC IN INDIAN LIFE

I am happy that the Gandharva Mahavidyalaya has completed 50 years of its useful existence. Its founder, the late Sri Vishnu Digambar was not only a renowned musician, but also a great mystic. At the time when he decided to dedicate his life to the cause of music, there were hardly any facilities for its study available to the common man. Since music was divorced from general education, about a century ago, our people had forgotten the importance of music in character-building, or as a fundamental need of the human soul. The truth is that in those days the Goddess of Music was not a favourite with our ruling or educated classes. The middle class had somehow come to look down upon the profession and practice of music, taking it to be the sphere of men and women of low character and status. Sri Vishnu Digambar was the first to take up cudgels on behalf of this ignored deity. Undaunted by prevalent prejudices and wrong notions about it, he heroically strove to put the art of music on its proper pedestal.

Indian music is something we can all be proud of. For ages, music and song have formed an integral part of our national life. Even in the days of our slavery, when it lacked governmental patronage and no facilities for its teaching existed, music continued to inspire us. Perhaps, it was because we never looked to music as a source of sensuous enjoyment, but considered it to be a vehicle to transport the soul to bliss. Take our Vedic Age. Not only were the Vedic hymns sung, but the truth is that our science of music came into being only to help us in singing Vedic *Mantrams* in symphony. Thus, music from its very inception has been associated with our spiritual life. Thereafter, the Indian society passed through many changes and vicissitudes, but intimate relationship between music and the fundamental urges of our soul continued as of yore. I do not know the connection between music and the daily life of other peoples, but, about our country, I can say that music is our constant friend from birth to death. Our child gets its first acquaintance with music as soon as he opens his eyes. All our *Sanskara*, rites and ceremonies, feasts and festivals are performed to the accompaniment of melodious music. Our men on the farm, our labourers, our women at the spinning wheel or while pounding rice or winnowing wheat, are often

Speech delivered while inaugurating the Music Festival in celebration of the Golden Jubilee of Gandharva Mahavidyalaya, organised by the Bharatiya Kalakendra at the Constitution Club, New Delhi, on April 4, 1952.

found humming a tune or singing in chorus. Sometimes I have wondered whether God blessed us with an extra-sensitive ear for lift and rhythm. Look at our screen and stage. They have more of music perhaps than anywhere else in the world. Evidently, music permeates the Indian soul. The Indian gets, out of music, no transitory pleasure, but a deep and abiding satisfaction of the soul.

May I say that this should really be the place of music in human life? It is music which lifts us from the transitory moment and the pettiness of our daily existence to that enchanted world where harmony reigns. It makes us live in the eternal moment. It makes us breathe in the atmosphere of purity. It makes us forget the limitations of our physical self. All clashes and conflicts, for the time being, die away in the resonant concord of music. Music is the language of the soul, it is the voice of humanity. It knows no barriers of race, creed or place. It is above time. It can be the greatest source of inspiration in man's life. Perhaps, that is why our mystics, like Chaitanya and Meera were music-mad. The devotional songs of our saints and mystics like Kabir, Sur, Tulsī, Tukaram and Narsi Mehta have become a part of the existence of our people. Even our Radha-Krishna literature, so full of poetic exuberance, ultimately takes us to God. On account of this peculiarity, our music came to have such a sturdy tradition that it was able to bind in unison, all the communities in India. At least, this much is clear that while there have been differences and bickerings in other spheres, in the sphere of Indian music, all sections of the Indian people in all the regions have always thought and still think alike and they will continue to do so. This unity has cut across all political antagonisms and religious bigotry and has not been affected by regional considerations and linguistic differences.

Undoubtedly, there are two systems in Indian music, but they are not fundamentally opposed to each other. In fact, the two forms of our music are, in ultimate analysis, homogeneous. This would be evident from the fact that both these systems are governed by the same principles of *Raaga* and *Swara*. The difference between the two is purely external and no one need be deluded by it. It is these principles which have given Indian music its peculiar form and which serve to differentiate it from the music of Europe and other countries. While criticising Indian music, its peculiarity must not be lost sight of. Forgetting this fact, people sometimes criticise Indian music from standards which are the basis of European music. The objectives of Indian and Western music are different. These should be adjudged from their own standards.

It need hardly be said that no vocal music is worth anything if it fails to strike the emotional chord in the listener's heart : To that extent, the basis of music is similar the world over. The nature of the emotional response in the human heart may be different in case of different people. In this respect, Western music is different from Indian. The emotional experience may also be said to be different in both cases. As I have said, the aim of Indian music is to create spiritual exaltation. I would, therefore, suggest that those who may like to criticise Indian music should not forget this fact even inadvertently.

Music is a great power and with the aid of modern science, this power can be enhanced still more. While, formerly, only a limited number of listeners could enjoy a reputed musician, thanks to the radio, millions of people can now listen to him at the same time. If television facilities were available, they could also see the expression on his face. Similarly, while in earlier days a musician's art used to die with him, now, it is possible to immortalise his voice so that generations to come may enjoy his melodious performance.

On account of the enhancement of the scope and sphere of music, it has become possible, today, for the musician to command a higher economic return from his art than ever before. But, on this account it is beset with two dangers. Firstly, a musician might, for the sake of temporary gain, betray the time-honoured tradition of Indian music and its fundamental principles. Secondly, he might use this great power for a cause harmful to the nation and the community. It is, therefore, the duty of all our musicians and artistes to beware of these dangers and avoid them. I do not mean that Indian music should not look forward. At the same time, progress should not mean that it changes out of recognition. I would, therefore, emphasise that our artistes should desist from doing anything which might jeopardise the purity of Indian music in any way.

We should see that music is not used to degrade humanity. The part that music can play in character building is unique. It was in recognition of this fact, that in his famous work "The Republic" Plato included the study of music as a compulsory subject in the curriculum for officials of the State. I believe that music can give to the human heart a foretaste of Heaven on Earth. I hope that this high ideal of our music will be kept before them by Indian musicians.

Indian musicians must not rest on their oars. They must strive to improve upon what they have got. Indian music calls for a good deal of research which can be undertaken only by our Gandharva Vidyalyayas.

While doing all this, we have also to familiarise foreigners with our music. We should not hesitate to take from them such things as, for example, the orchestra. There is, therefore, a vast field of work before our musicians. Their most important work is that they harness their art to peace and harmony in the world. As you know, this has been the aim of Indian music through the ages. It is this historic responsibility that our musicians have to discharge. I hope that they would succeed in making every home and hamlet hum with divine music, just as our saints and mystics carried the gospel of love and peace from door to door in the past. May they realise the aim and ambition of their life through this path of human welfare.

BRAJ BHASHA AND THE KRISHNA LORE

I consider the people of Braj to be very fortunate indeed. You are the residents of the region which had witnessed the glorious and inspiring deeds of Lord Krishna. It is no doubt true that centuries have rolled by since He departed from this world. But, notwithstanding all the great changes that have occurred during these centuries, the flute of Mohan is still echoing here in this land and His divine spirit pervades the atmosphere, its sky, its cities and the villages, its streets and market places and its houses and groves. One can still hear his footfall on every pebble and stone of this region. Whereas, it is only after undertaking a long journey that we can share in this bliss, you are able to have a glimpse of the Lord at your own doorstep.

The greatness and the glory of the Lord has not only added dignity to you, but also to your tongue. It is well-known all over the world that your language is extremely sweet and charming. There are no harsh sounds in it. It appears as if it has been made specially for poetry and music. For this unique feature alone, Braj Bhasha would have a special position of its own among the languages of the world. But, far more than its sweetness, its greatness lies in its being an unending song of the deeds of Lord Krishna. Braj Bhasha has become so identified with his exploits that only a select few are aware of its existence apart from the latter. The very mention of Braj Bhasha brings at once to the mind the great lines of Soordas '*Maiyya Main Nahin Makhhan Khayo*'. I am not aware whether any other language has become so identified with the life-story of any great man. So far as I know, this glory belongs to Braj Bhasha and Braj Bhasha alone. This glory also is not an ordinary thing. Its grandeur is evident from the very fact that the Krishna lore is one of the invaluable gems of the life, the culture and the history of the Indian people.

Ram lore and Krishna lore are the two great axes around which the life of the Indian people, particularly the life of our village folk, has been revolving all through the centuries. A great part of the literature of almost every language of India has been inspired by these two lores. It is not only literature, but almost every fine art which is intimately dependent on these two great lores of our country. What is now termed as an open air theatre has existed in our country in the form of 'Ram

Inaugural speech at the 8th session of the Braj Sabitya Mandal on April 5, 1952, at Hathras.

'Leela' for the last many centuries. Who does not know that this 'Ram Leela' has not only been a source of immense pleasure to persons of all ages, but has also been a powerful means in the formation of the character and ideals of the people of our land? It was, I believe, greatly due to it that even when literacy had almost disappeared from the rural areas of our country and when the ancient institutions of education in the countryside had practically ceased to exist, the Indian peasant remained fully familiar with the great human values.

Just as 'Ram Leela' served as a big open air theatre, so the 'Ras Leela' was like a drama filling our countryside with devotion for the divine. It has made our innocent peasants and workers as familiar with the life and ideals of Lord Krishna as they are with their own kith and kin. While the other dramatic performances were only for the entertainment of the elite of the cities, 'Ram Leela' and 'Ras Leela' were for all, from the monarch to the beggar. Its influence was all pervasive. Even in our sculpture, our architecture and painting, the Krishna and Ram lores are closely interwoven. So, if I say that the two threads of the Ram and Krishna lores constitute the warp of our culture, I would not be guilty of an exaggeration. The Greek, the Arab, the Persian, the Scythian, the Hun—and one does not know how many other threads—are woven into it, and its present pattern bears the colour of all these threads. I feel that like the Sun and the Moon, these two great lores are illuminating our lives and have been giving and shall always continue to give us inspiration.

I consider that the great appeal of these two lores to the mind and their influence on the life of our people is mainly due to the fact that they embody the finest aspirations and ideals of the human spirit. There can hardly be a person in the whole world to whom these lores do not provide a glimpse of a new world for which man has been yearning since the very dawn of his existence on this earth. From the ethical and the aesthetic points of view, these lores are extremely vitalising and inspiring. I do not think that this is an occasion when a minute analysis of their nature and significance can be undertaken. But, I am afraid, I would not be able to indicate the importance of your work adequately if I do not say anything further about the Krishna lore. So, I take the liberty of drawing your attention to one of its special aspects.

I think that the Krishna lore has a magical appeal not only for persons born and bred in this land, but even for those coming from foreign lands into India. History bears testimony to the fact that the Greeks and the Scythians coming to this land for trade or conquest became devotees

of Lord Krishna. Even if we do not go so far, we find that during the mediæval period, quite a few of the Turks and Moghuls who came to India were deeply influenced by the Krishna lore. Mumtaz Begum was so deeply influenced that she exclaimed, "Though a Moghalani, I would even agree to be a Hinduan for its sake". Alam proclaimed his determination to gather "pebbles in this land hallowed by Lord Krishna." Mian Ras Khan became a delightful poet by the mere sight of the Lord of Love. Ras Khan, not satisfied with this, expressed his desire saying, "If born a man, let me be among the village shepherds of Gokul, if born an animal, let me wander among the flock of Nand, if I be a stone let me be a piece of the Govardhan which the Lord had raised against Indra and if I be a bird let me make my nest on the trees by the side of the Jamuna."

Often, I ask myself what is the secret that was responsible for this great influence of the Krishna lore on Indians and non-Indians alike? I believe, this is due to the fact that, in this lore, devotion to God has been so closely and naturally woven with the aesthetic impulse of man that no one can remain unaffected by its beauty. I think it would be no exaggeration to say that in the Krishna lore, devotion to God has manifested itself as the very embodiment of beauty. So, all those thirsting for spiritual perfection and beauty cannot but come under its spell. It would not be wrong to say that the whole of mankind can be divided into two classes, the spiritual-minded and the beauty-lovers. Anything that satisfies the spiritual and aesthetic impulse of man cannot but give deep spiritual satisfaction to every human being. In this connection, I may cite one of the poems of the great poet Soordas to indicate how beauty has been combined with depth of devotion. It runs as follows :

*Maiya main nahin makhan khayō,
Khyāl pare ye sakha sabai mil, mere mukh laptayō
Tuhin nirakhi nanhey kar apne, main kaise kar payō
Mukh dadhi ponchh budhi ik kinhi, dauna pinth durayō ;
Dari santi musakai Yasoda, Syamahi kanth lugayō,
Balvinoda gode main mōhya, bhakti pratap dikhayō,
'Soordas' aha jasumati kau sukh, siva biranchi nahin payō.*

This description of the Child Krishna is so charming that no one can fail to be fascinated by it.

The Krishna lore has established a similar intimate relationship between aesthetic beauty and spiritual devotion even in other spheres of Indian life, besides literature. Almost the whole of Indian music and quite a part of Indian dancing revolve round the devotion to Krishna.

If the Radha-Krishna motif were taken away from Indian music, I believe, much of it would lose its charm. It can, therefore, be said that in the sphere of art, the Krishna lore has brought together persons of different regions, different languages, different sects and has knit them together in a common bond which is entirely spiritual in character. It has thus played a unique historic role in evolving harmony and unity among people of different races and different regions in this country.

It is this unique historic role of the Krishna lore which has increased the weight of your responsibility far more than it would have been otherwise. Those who speak Braj Bhasha should realize the great responsibility which history has placed on their shoulders and should be prepared to discharge it fully. It is the sacred duty of the devotees of Braj Bhasha to further strengthen and deepen this synthesis between spiritual devotion and aesthetic beauty and to give expression to it in varied forms. India needs this synthesis very greatly today, because once it is established there would be no possibility of any kind of religious intolerance and communal rivalry. I hope your Association will chalk out its future course of action in conformity with and in the context of this great ideal so that it may be able to carry to fruition the great work which the ancient history of Braj and the exploits of Lord Krishna have left us to complete.

The weight of this responsibility has become still greater because of another characteristic of Braj Bhasha. The history of this language makes it abundantly clear that we can have a great literature even in the dialect of the simple village people—a literature which would not only be the symbol and soul of a single age, but would continue to find its echo in the hearts of men and women for ever. Indeed, in our country, it has been the belief that far more in Ashrams than in cities can man have the spiritual insight which is the first requisite for the creation of great literature. The authors of such famous works as the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and others were Rishis living in Ashrams, rather than residents of cities. It was for this reason that in the past there was not much difference between the culture of the city and that of the countryside. Such devotional poets as Tulsidas, Soordas and others were really the children of the countryside. Unfortunately, during the foreign rule in our country, a wide gulf in the cultural sphere came into existence between the cities and the villages. While our villages remained true to the soil of our land, our cities came to imitate distant Europe and England due to the system of education introduced by the alien rulers here. So it was that many a person of the cities—that is to say, the newly educated class of people—came to be influenced far more by the culture of Europe than by the historic heritage of India. I do not in the least

imply that it is an undesirable thing for anyone to adopt or borrow anything from foreign countries. Such borrowing there should be, but, at the same time, every one of us must realise that our life is so intimately tied up with the land and the history of our country that any attempt on our part to cut ourselves adrift from them would jeopardise our existence in the same manner as the skinning of a person leads to his death.

You are all aware that human emotions are at once regional and Universal. Basically, emotions and feelings of man are common all over the world. That literature alone can be great which gives to its devotees a glimpse of the entire humanity through the window of a region. So, I would urge that while trying to throw your roots deep into the soil, you should also raise your head high in the open sky and the golden sunlight. You should be ready to welcome pure air and light from whatever region and direction it may be coming. For doing so, you require two things. In the first place, you will have to freely enrich yourself through the great literatures of all countries of the world. In the second place, you will have to continue to maintain close relationship of your particular dialect with other dialects of the land. It is absolutely necessary that every group based on language or religion should, while trying to maintain its peculiar identity, also be ready to co-operate and mingle with the other groups of this world. It was such a process of synthesis that led to the evolution of modern Hindi. It has evolved out of the co-mingling of Avadhi, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Rajasthani, Braj and the Bundelkhandi dialects and its literature has been enriched by all of them. It is your duty, therefore, that while deriving inspiration from this great heritage of the past, you should devote yourself to the task of enriching it still further.

You will have to do several things for realising this objective. In the first place, you will have to strive to make available to the people, the devotional literature of Braj Bhasha at a low price. You would also have to arrange for the publication of authoritative texts of the works in Braj Bhasha. Already, you have taken some research work in hand. But, I believe, you will have to extend it still further. You have also to undertake a scientific investigation into the conditions and the urges which have shaped the literature of Braj Bhasha. At the same time, I would suggest that you consider measures for the revival of 'Ras Leela', so that you might again flood the countryside with the exhilarating stream of devotion and beauty. History has given you a great heritage and also placed on your shoulders a heavy responsibility. You have to discharge it in the same spirit of dedication which inspired Soordas in his devotional outpourings for Lord Krishna.

THE IMPORTANCE OF UNITY

I thank you for the honour you have done me by presenting this address of welcome. Ever since I landed here this morning, I have been the recipient of kindness and good wishes all round. The streets through which I passed have been thronged with people on both sides, all expressing their greetings to the President of India. I am not vain enough to think that the great welcome is intended for me personally. It is really an expression of your joy at the attainment of freedom and of a status which enables the people of this country to elect one from amongst themselves as Head of the State of this vast land.

I have listened with great interest to the address in which you have spoken about the difficulties which you, as a Corporation, are facing. I think the problems are the same all over the country. Our cities are growing beyond all recognition. Big cities have grown three times, and sometimes four times their size. Even smaller places have, within the last 15 or 20 years, grown to double or treble their old size. All these towns and cities provide amenities on the basis of population. Now that their population has become twice or four times of what it was, new problems naturally come up. These problems are arising at a time when our financial position is none too happy. You have, therefore, to work with patience and also to conserve your energy and all your resources and use them to the best possible advantage of the masses at large. I am glad to learn that you have taken up the work of slum clearance and have made much progress. I hope, after some time, you will be in a position to say that Madras is free from the ugly spots known as slums.

Your demands for a reallocation of the sources of revenue, I am sure, will receive the best consideration from the authorities concerned. The Government of India will, naturally, consider the report made by the Committee which has been appointed by themselves. In reallocating the sources of revenue, they have also to take into consideration the demands of the States. As a matter of fact, one of the problems with which the Government of India are faced is the problem of allocating the sources of revenue as between the States and themselves. We are, as you know, carrying on according to certain arrangements which were made before we attained independence. Until better times come or until some other agreement is made, the existing arrangement has to be continued. I

Reply to the civic address presented to him at Madras on April 6, 1951.

suppose the same is true with regard to municipal bodies. But, I hope something will be done to enable the various institutions and departments which serve the people to have sufficient revenue for themselves.

Apart from the question which the Corporation has to face at the present moment, we have to realise also that our independence is only about three years old and, like all young plants, it has got to be nurtured with care and diligence. Our history has not been very happy in some respects. In spite of all the apparent differences, it is true that there has been a certain amount of unity in this country, and that is our cultural unity. It has survived all kinds of onslaughts. But, we did not have the kind of political unity which we have today. Although, due to the partition, we have lost two wings in the north-west and the north-east, still the country, as it is today, is bigger than the India which, at any time in its history, was brought under the aegis of one rule. There were, in India, empires during the time of Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim rulers and also during the time of the English. But, those empires did not cover as much area and as much population as does the Republic of India today. The Constitution which we have framed with so much care and with so much labour, governs not only that part of India which was formerly administered under the Government of India Act, 1935, but also that part of India which used to be under the rule of the Indian Princes. This has been possible due to the patriotism of the Princes and the statesmanship and farsightedness of the leaders and also the people who have worked for unity.

As I have said, we have an unhappy history in some respects. In the past, there were empires but there was always a tendency, particularly in the outlying parts, to cut away from the Centre. Although, there were empires and there were Chakravartis whose writ ran through the whole country, in a way, there was never one Government ruling over the entire country. Now, one rule and one kind of law governs the whole land. We have, therefore, to guard against any repetition of what had happened in the past. That fissiparous tendency to cut away from the Centre has to be checked somehow. Although, the various States are being governed more or less in an autonomous fashion, the whole of the vast land must remain under one Constitution. Any separatist tendency which may be visible today or which may not be visible today, but may come up tomorrow, has to be checked. For that purpose, we have to inculcate, in the minds of the people at large, the value of unity. Today, the world has become small in certain respects. On account of the advance of science, distance has practically been annihilated. It is becoming every

day more and more difficult for small States to survive. We are all hoping that the time will come when conflicts between States will cease and we shall have One World.

We, in this country, have to preserve our own identity. We can do so only if we keep this entire country together. Then alone shall we be able to demonstrate that strength which is necessary to keep his independence and keep it in a position in which it will be able to protect itself and the people and help other countries as well in time of need. It is, therefore, necessary that we should realise the great value of political unity and preserve it as best as we can. I am anxious that people should also realise their duty to maintain, protect and preserve the hard-won independence. That is the primary duty of every Indian today.

We have, undoubtedly, had a great many problems during the last three years of our independence. It must be said to the credit of the various administrations in the Centre and the States, that they have managed to survive many difficulties under which they might well have broken down. We have had innumerable difficulties—political, communal, social, and last but not least, financial and economic. Even today, we are facing a situation with regard to food which is by no means an easy one and which in some respects is the most difficult. But, let us have faith in ourselves and let us hope that we shall be able to conquer the present difficulties as we had done in the past.

I know the Government is trying its best to solve the food problem. We are importing a large quantity of foodgrains from foreign countries. We are also trying to increase production in this country. But, whatever the Government might do, the problem cannot be solved by it alone. The people at large have to take it up as their own problem. Each one of us should regard it as his problem and try to solve it. It is only in that spirit that a big crisis like this can be got over. I hope that with the mental, moral and spiritual as well as the material resources which the people possess, they will be able to get over the great difficulty. I know your State has had several bad seasons one after another. Naturally, your troubles are great. I come from a region which is also in the grip of the same kind of difficulties. Perhaps, if I am not exaggerating, it is in a worse condition than any other part of the country. Let us all be prepared to meet the difficulties in a spirit of hopefulness and determination. Then alone can we succeed.

There are other problems facing us. Nobody can say today what is going to happen tomorrow. The world is, as it were, on the brink of a

precipice and one wrong step may result in a serious situation. We do not know what will happen. It is possible we may get out of it; it is equally possible we may fall into it. Our attempt, as far as possible, should be to prevent an extension of conflict. Of course, we do not have the resources or the material strength which other nations possess. Nor, being a new nation and being so young, are we in a position to exercise that amount of influence which perhaps other nations exercise. But, what little we possess, we have placed at the disposal of the world for the purpose of preventing that catastrophe from actually happening. Therefore, whether we look at it from the point of view of our internal difficulties or from the point of view of the international situation, we have to be ready to meet any emergency.

Our financial position is not all good. We have had a deficit budget which compelled us to impose fresh taxation. The States, in many cases, have also had deficit budgets. That is the position which we have had to face. It must, however, be said that in spite of all these difficulties, we have not given up those social objectives which we have set before ourselves. We have been trying our best to carry forward the work of social amelioration. We shall, I hope, continue to do so and whatever sacrifices are required of the people, will be forthcoming. In course of time, when the present troubles are over, we may be able to say to the world that we passed through crisis after crisis, but with God's grace we always emerged successfully. We have to remember that when a nation is born, it has to face, in the beginning, certain difficulties. We are now going through such a period. When we have passed these difficulties, we hope we shall grow into a strong, healthy and prosperous nation.

I thank you for the honour you have done me and for all the kindness you have shown to me.

AN APPEAL TO INDUSTRIALISTS

You represent a community which has a great part to play in the industrial development of this country. The other day, when the Prime Minister of India addressed the Federated Chambers of Commerce in Delhi, he drew their attention to certain basic facts which have always to be borne in mind. We all realise that in India today, we need nothing more than increased production—of food, of industrial goods, of consumer goods and of every other thing which is required for our existence. The question of distribution can arise only when there is production. It is, therefore, necessary that all those who are engaged in industries should realise that only if there is production can they have a share out of it.

It is a matter of gratification to find a growing awareness among all sections of the people that mere profit-making cannot do in the present conditions of the world. Those who are engaged in production—whether as industrialists, or as capitalists or as labourers—have to look not only to their own limited interests, but also to the interest of the country at large. I have no doubt that the class you represent—a class highly intelligent and experienced—is able to foresee things and realise that the time has come when all the people in this country have to put their shoulders to the wheel.

We have emerged out of a war which has been devastating in its effect on India and other countries. After that came the partition of the country which had its own aftermath. Even after the attainment of independence, we have had a plethora of problems which have so far been defying solution. We are trying our best to solve them. But, it is necessary that all classes, all groups and all communities should realise their respective responsibilities in the present condition of the country. As I have said, you represent a community which is highly intelligent and much experienced and, therefore, you, of all people, should have this awareness and I have no doubt you have it. I am not unaware of the fact that you have your own way of looking at things and there are situations in which your point of view does not always agree with that of the Government. Whether there is agreement or not on matters of detail, there can be no difference of opinion on the fundamental fact that the people of India have to be served and saved. If they go under, we all go under, whether we belong to one class or community or another.

Reply to the joint welcome address presented to him by the Chambers of Commerce of Madras, on April 7, 1951.

One thing that I have noticed with great regret within the last few years, is a general deterioration in our standards which has come possibly in the wake of the war. It may be that we ourselves are weak and the deterioration has come because of our own weakness. Those who are engaged in administration or business or in any other kind of public work have all realised this deterioration in our moral standards. Much of our present difficulties may be attributed to that. I do not say we are worse than other people. But, we want a higher degree of morality in our daily life, in our business relations and in relations of a political and social nature.

I have noticed this fall and I am taking the liberty of drawing the attention of the people to it. For example, if you analyse all our industrial troubles, you will find a general scramble on the part of all—I do not single out industrialists and capitalists—to make as much profit as they can, out of the present situation. If you go into the question of black-marketing, you will find that it is not possible to blame any particular group or class for that. I have said more than once that the trader and the producer are equally to blame. There will be no black marketing if producers do not send what they produce into the black market. If the consumer also does not purchase, there will be no black market. The trader, the producer and the consumer all have a share in making the black market flourish. I would, therefore, suggest that you on your part should do your best to raise moral standards so that others may also follow your example. I have asked other people to do the same and I cannot do better than ask you also.

On the question of amendments to the Bill relating to the elections, I myself am not fully conversant with the exact position at the present moment. But, as you say, you have made representations which, I am sure, will receive the attention of the Government. A matter like this is in the hands of Parliament and I am sure that Parliament will consider it in all its aspects.

You have rightly said in your address that H.E. the Governor and the Government of the State have been keeping us fully informed about the developments here. If we are not able to do more, it is not for lack of information supplied by them or for lack of pressure on their part on the Government of India to do more. The situation is such that it is not possible for us to do more. We do not need to be told that we should import foodgrains. As a matter of fact, the Government of India have planned this year to import more grain than they have ever imported before. We are trying to get whatever we can from wherever we can get

it. I do not know what exactly is the position in Burma. I believe that if rice is available in Burma, our Government will not fail to get it from there.

I said some time ago that rice has become very much dearer than other grains. It was for this reason that the Government was trying to get more of other grains for, after all, the millions have to be fed. If you went in only for rice, probably you will have to pay much more than what you will have actually to pay for other grains. You are used to rice and I also belong to a rice-eating State. We are in the same position as far as rice is concerned. But, unfortunately, we cannot have everything our own way. For many years, we will have to put up with this sort of inconvenience when grains to which you are not accustomed are forced on you. We can only hope that we will be able to produce more and more rice within the country so that we may not have to depend on others.

The Government of India has its own plan and every State is trying to implement that plan for more production. We hope that when the big river projects come into fruition, we shall achieve self-sufficiency in food. In the meantime, my own feeling is that the deficit in foodgrains is not such that we cannot meet it by ordinary methods. After all, the deficit is not more than ten per cent, which means that if we produce eleven maunds where we produced ten, we shall fill the gap. It should not at all be difficult to produce this extra one maund. With a little more industry, with a little more manure, with better cultivation and irrigation, probably that could be done. The immediate plan of the Government is to meet this deficit in this way, so that, we may not have to wait for the completion of the big projects to meet our present needs.

This year we had a series of natural calamities and the scarcity was very largely due to them. The remaining six months will somehow pass off and better times will dawn thereafter. It is for the people to devise means to meet the situation as best as they can. The Government will do its best. I assure you that not a single day passes without the situation being reviewed by the Cabinet and they have a special committee to attend to it.

You have also mentioned, in your address, other points which it is not necessary for me to refer to, on this occasion. I can however give the assurance that the question of industrial development is in the forefront of the Government's plan. If the Government can get the necessary capital and equipment and trained personnel, it will not hesitate to launch upon the biggest projects possible. We have, as a matter of fact,

revised taxation during the last two years in such a way as to enable more capital to flow in. But, the expectations of the Government have not been fulfilled. Whatever the cause may be, you cannot say that taxation has not taken a different turn now. We have had additional taxation this year, but it is of a different kind altogether. It is open to those who have money, to come forward with their capital to help in the industrialisation of the country.

I would not like to say anything more about this matter because these are matters of Government policy about which Ministers can speak with greater authority than I can. But, I think I have expressed their view and I believe that the Chamber would accept the position that the Government, at the present moment, does not have any policy which goes directly against their wishes. On more than one occasion, its policy has been expressed in clear terms. If there are any doubts, those doubts could be removed by reference to Government. We want all help for our industrialisation. I would appeal to you, and I am sure I shall not appeal in vain, to make your own contribution to the welfare of this country. After all, the welfare of the country is your own welfare and the two cannot be separated.

THE SELFLESS FIGHTER

I find myself in a somewhat difficult position in having to speak about Pandit Nehru. My difficulty does not arise so much on account of my very close and personal relationship with him as on account of the vastness of the subject. To speak about Jawaharlal Nehru is to recite the history of India during the last 30 years and more. That is something which can be recorded only in thousands of pages. It is, therefore, very difficult to do justice to such a subject in the short span of a few minutes. Yet, when one thinks of it, one feels that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is the great son of a great father.

Pandit Motilal Nehru was great in many ways in his own days. He was great as a lawyer and great as a patriot. When the call of the country came, he gave up everything and joined the great movement which Mahatma Gandhi had started. So long as he was there, he was great as a leader of the Congress. But, he was really great in giving us a greater son. Pandit Motilal Nehru knew that he was giving the country a son who would prove to be greater than himself. When, at the time of the Lahore Congress, Jawaharlal Nehru was going to preside, Motilal Nehru who had been President of the previous session, had to make over charge to him. While doing so, he recited a Persian couplet which said 'What the father fails to accomplish, the son achieves'. With these words, he handed over charge of the Congress to his son. The prophecy came true, because some years after that, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru succeeded in his great effort, which had been continuing for half a century, for the attainment of complete freedom.

During this period of struggle, Jawaharlal has played not only a leading, but also a determining part at almost every period of crisis and whenever big and great decisions had to be taken by the Congress. When, ultimately, we did succeed in getting independence, he was placed at the helm of affairs as the first Prime Minister of India. Since then, you have all known how heroically he has been fighting against all the numerous difficulties which have come in the wake of our independence. There is no department of Government with which he is not familiar. There is no big decision taken by any Ministry at the Centre in which his hand is not to be seen. Hardly any big decision, I may say, is taken by any Government in the country in which his influence has not been working,

Speech on the occasion of unveiling the portrait of the Hon'ble Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, at Rajaji Hall, Madras on April 7, 1951.

if not openly, at any rate in a way which is known to those who have to take those decisions. He has been carrying such a heavy burden all these years that sometimes one wonders how it is possible for him to do it. God has given him good health with the agility and the resilience of a youth of 25, even at three score years. You see him moving about amongst the masses with the same freedom as amongst the greatest figures of the world in international gatherings. His speeches and writings speak highly of what he is thinking and feeling and of what he is dreaming.

It is difficult to recount all the services that he has rendered. You are all familiar with the many things with which he has been associated. I am sure I am not exaggerating when I say that when the time comes for writing the history of the period, his name will occupy a place and space which will be second, if even second, only to that of Mahatma Gandhi. That is a position of which any person can well be proud. It was not without reason that Mahatma Gandhi named him as his successor. He could see the greatness in Nehru. He could see that if the work left unaccomplished by himself was to be accomplished, the mantle must fall on Jawaharlal. He has established for himself the reputation of being one of the greatest statesmen of the world. In international affairs, he has raised the status of this new and young country to a position which perhaps other countries would have taken years and years to reach. His reputation has been built up, not by taking to opportunism, not by advocating things which please everybody, but by sticking to a path and a programme which he has chalked out for this country in his own mind. The programme is, from all points of view, the best that the country can adopt. He has upheld the dignity, prestige and honour of this country and is, therefore, loved by all in his country and respected by foreigners. We hope that his health will remain as firm and strong as it is today, so that he may render even greater service to the country in future.

We are just on the threshold of independence. We have just attained power which may enable us to make ourselves prosperous and happy. We have not yet succeeded in making the country prosperous and happy as we would wish it to be. This period requires great constructive ability and leadership of a very high kind. In Jawaharlal Nehru, we have got that constructive ability and that great quality of leadership. In him we find the obvious selflessness which conquers all opposition. Everybody feels that when he says a thing, it cannot be anything but what he feels to be the best. There are many people in this country who are prepared to subordinate their own opinions to his because of his sincerity and his

great experience. Since he is a leader in the best sense of the term, we know that there are millions of our countrymen who are willing not only to follow him but to make any sacrifice which they may be called upon to make in the cause of the country. Pandit Jawaharlal led us during the period of struggle and now he is leading us during the period of reconstruction. Let us all hope and pray that God will give him health, strength and long life to accomplish the great task with the same success as he has achieved in the previous task, namely, winning independence for India.

THE TAMIL LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

You are rightly proud of your language and culture. You have maintained it in this part of the country as well as outside wherever your people have gone. It is in the fitness of things that you should be thinking of making your contribution to the general culture of the country as a whole—not that it is a new thing, because the culture of India is a composite culture which is drawn from the different parts of the country. In the course of thousands of years, we have been able to evolve, in the midst of all the diversities that we see, a general unanimity and unity of culture. This is one great thing which we always cherish.

There has never been an attempt in this country to force anything on others within the country or outside. There is no record of any invasion by the people of India of any other country. Within the country itself, every group and every part of it has been allowed the fullest freedom to develop itself as best it could. The result has been a number of languages very highly developed with rich literatures and containing many gems which are of great value. Similarly, we have different customs prevailing all over the country and every custom has been recognised.

At this time, when we are going to reconstruct India, you should be ready and prepared to take full part in that work. It is necessary that the various languages that are spoken and that have literature of their own, should develop to the greatest extent possible. It is, indeed, necessary that all the languages should develop, because without them we cannot have the India which we wish to build. At the same time, we need a language which will enable us, from the north to the south, from the east to the west, to correspond with one another or understand each other. In the past, we used Sanskrit for this purpose. We require some language for this limited purpose only. It will help us feel, in spite of divergences, that we are all one.

I have no doubt that, in your efforts for the growth and enrichment of the Tamil language and literature, you will get the support of all right-thinking people in the country at large. Just as you are giving us political and social workers and administrators, we want you to give us also literary persons who will inspire not only those people who can speak and understand the Tamil language, but also those who do not understand

Speech at University Buildings, Madras, on the occasion of the inauguration of Thirukkural Research Institute, on April 7, 1951.

that language but still wish to profit by its progress. That can be done by translations of the best works, although it is a big task. I am glad that the Government as well as non-official organisations are bringing about such a fusion as we desire.

In modern times, research work in regard to a great literary work puts more emphasis on things like the author's place of birth and the construction of his sentences or expressions in relation to the set rules of grammar. The result is that more attention is given to the man than to the work. After all, it is not the man that matters so much as the work he left behind. We, in Northern India, are no worse because we do not know the exact place of birth of Saint Tulsidas. What I would like your research workers to do is to help in the propagation of the real teachings of a great work like 'The Kural.' I have no doubt that scholars will bring together the different versions and editions and all the commentaries on the great author. We do not know the dates and places of activity of many of our great men of the past still, their life has become part of the lives of millions in this country. 'The Kural' has been a part of the lives of millions and millions of people for centuries in spite of the fact that little is known about the life of the author.

I wish the Kural Publication all success and I hope it will get help and encouragement from all.

THE SPIRIT OF SOCIAL SERVICE

I desire to congratulate the organisers and the workers of this institution on the success which they have achieved in various fields of activity. We, in India, need social service on a very large scale and in the widest sense of the term. There is no lack of problems, no lack of work, and what is really needed is a body of social workers who will devote themselves in a spirit of service. It is a matter of congratulation that this institution has been doing this kind of work for more than a quarter of a century.

When I was asked to become associated with this function, I accepted the honour with great pleasure, because I saw in it the possibilities of much greater things to come in the future. Now that we have got our independence, there is a general tendency to throw the responsibility for all kinds of work on the Government. Sometimes, even such things as could be done by non-official organisations are sought to be thrown on the shoulders of the Government. I think non-official organisations, especially those which are run purely on lines of social service, have a place in every country, particularly in this country where there is so much to be done.

We have a large number of problems. Education and the health of the people need urgent attention. The uplift of the backward classes, the so-called untouchables and the problems of what are known as tribal people, are equally important. In these and many other problems, we see evidence of the work that needs to be done. The successful accomplishment of even a part of the work requires a large number of sincere and devoted workers.

Politics has its own rewards. If nothing else, it gives a certain amount of newspaper headlines or praise. Social work of this type also has its reward, but it is of different kind. That reward is the satisfaction which the worker gets by the work he does. To my mind, that is the highest reward that can be given. One feels he has done a good piece of work and done it well. It is in that spirit that service has to be rendered in these institutions and I am glad that in this institution there are a number of workers who are devoting themselves to the work in that spirit.

I remember to have read somewhere that you have no paid servants here and most of your work is done by honorary workers. That is as it

Speech at the Seva Samajam Destitute Home, Adyar, Madras, on April 7, 1951.

should be. Of course, there are certain classes of people who have to be paid, but the spirit of service has to be supplied by honorary workers who would regard it as their own work. We sometimes think that honorary work is work which may or may not be done. I think that is a completely wrong idea. Honorary work is undertaken by ourselves and there is no outside agency which forces us to do that work or after we have undertaken it, to carry it out. It is our own conscience and it is our own spirit of service which impels us to take it up and to do it. The responsibility of honorary work is, therefore, even greater than the responsibility of paid work. I am of the opinion that honorary workers are really greater servants of the people than paid workers, whether they are in the Ministry or in the services or whether they occupy high or humble positions in the society of our country. I attach so much importance to this work not only because we need this kind of work, but also because it creates in us that spirit which is absolutely necessary for the uplift of our country.

As I have said, there are many problems which we have to tackle and for this we require a host of workers. I hope your institution will grow and prosper and you will be able to supply more and more capable and devoted workers having the spirit of sacrifice and service to undertake the great work that remains to be done. You have set an example and I hope, it will be followed on a very large scale not only here but in other parts of the country as well. I wish to congratulate you on what you have achieved already.

To the small children I would say that it is their good fortune that they have managed to reach this institution. I hope that they will all grow up with the spirit of service and be able to set example in future for others to follow. The claim of the boys on society is now recognised. The boys, in their turn, have to recognise the claim of the institution and of the country on them and try to discharge their responsibilities.

SRINIVASA SASTRI

It is a great honour and privilege for me to be asked to unveil the portrait of Sri Srinivasa Sastri. In India, we are apt, sometimes, to forget the services of those who worked for many years before some of us strayed into the field of public activities. It is really a great pleasure to be reminded of the services of men like Sri Srinivasa Sastri, who followed in the footsteps of Sri Gokhale. The history of the Congress for nearly 30 or 35 years of its existence, before Mahatma Gandhi came into the field, is the history of those stalwarts who built up this great organisation. Sri Srinivasa Sastri was one of them. He had chosen, rather at an early age, the path of sacrifice and service to the country. Giving up his profession as a teacher, he went into the larger field of politics. There, he devoted himself, as he would have done as a teacher, to studying things and making them easily intelligible to others who were not so well-placed as he himself was with regard to many questions of public importance.

Anyone who has had the opportunity and privilege of listening to him, would at once have recognised in him not only a great orator, but a great master of the facts with which he was dealing. It was because of these great qualities that he was recognised by the people of this country as also by the Government of his time as one of the great leaders of India. His services were recognised in many ways. He was returned to the Assembly—Legislative Council as it was then called—many times. There he remained serving the people for many years. He was sent to South Africa as India's representative where he established amongst a people none too friendly to us, a reputation for himself and for this country. The prestige which he acquired has lasted even after his death. I had the privilege of knowing him, but I cannot claim that I knew him as well as you did, gentlemen and ladies present here. The little that I knew of him however showed to me his greatness, his kindness and his affection. I remember I had an occasion to visit Chidambaram while he was Vice-Chancellor of the University there. I was then touring these parts as President of the Congress. He had written to me before I went there that I should stay with him as his guest and I stayed with him for two days. Within those two days, I could see the amount of affection which he could shower upon one who had the privilege of coming into close contact with him. From what I had known before,

Unveiling of the portrait of the late Sri V. S. Srinivasa Sastri at Kuppaswamy Sastri Research Institute, Madras, on April 8, 1951.

especially during my contact with Mahatma Gandhi, I had come to regard him as one of our great leaders. This feeling continued to grow stronger and stronger until the last days of his life on this earth.

It is fitting that you should have a portrait of him in an institution with which he was so closely associated. As you have said, he was not only a politician, but also a great apostle of culture. Here, in this institute, you have workers who are trying to bring the old to the new in order to revitalise the old. In this country, today, we need nothing more than revitalising of our culture. We are apt to be carried away by the influence of the West. There are so many things which are likely, and are very often able, to carry us away on account of their glamour and their shine. We are very often misled into thinking that all that glitters is gold. But, that is not always so. There are many things of very great value embedded in our culture. These are found in the daily life of even the common people of this country. Let us not despise these things because they are old. We sometimes feel that by calling a man a reactionary, you have condemned him for good. I believe, we have first to define what is progress. I personally do not always feel that what we call progress is always really so. I sometimes wonder if, in speaking of progress, we are not mistaking what is really regressive for progress. The best corrective for such a mistake is to have our roots in our own culture. There is nothing which can help us more in this than the study of our ancient literature and of Sanskrit in which that literature is enshrined.

This institute has been trying to serve the people by reviving the old culture and making them study the Sanskrit language. The knowledge of Sanskrit will enable the people to drink deep of that fountain of learning which is contained in the vast number of books in that language, some of which are not even known today. I know that, all over the country, there are hundreds and thousands of manuscripts which nobody has seen and which nobody in modern days has studied. An institute like this serves the useful purpose of popularising the study of Sanskrit and of bringing to light many valuable old books which are forgotten and may, otherwise, be lost for ever. If this institute succeeds in bringing together scholars who will devote themselves to the study of these things and to the revival and preservation of many of these manuscripts, it would have done a great service. I have no doubt that you are engaged in this work. It has, therefore, been a piece of good fortune for me to be asked to associate myself with this function—a function at once connected with this institute which has been doing such fruitful work and with the great name of Sri Srinivasa Sastri.

THE FIGHT AGAINST CANCER

It is a great pleasure to be associated with this function. Several diseases are prevalent throughout the country and the Government has been trying to tackle them one after another. Though we cannot say that we have made very great progress in that direction, yet the best efforts are being made to fight tuberculosis, leprosy and several other diseases. Cancer, however, is a very difficult disease to tackle and our resources have so far been limited. You know, the Government of India have been taking keen interest in the promotion of scientific research. During the last three years or so, we have established laboratories all over the country for research work in different subjects of science and industry. In these laboratories, research of a high order is going on. In Delhi, anti-malaria research is being conducted at the Malaria Institute. Work in connection with cancer has yet to be done, but, I am quite sure it will be taken up very soon. I have no doubt that diseases which are prevalent in this country will be given special attention in future.

India has made contributions to the solution of some difficult medical problems. For example, in the treatment of malaria, cholera and tropical diseases like kalazar, India's contribution has been quite good. You may rest assured that when our people take up cancer, they will be able to make an important contribution. It is good that the Cancer Day is being celebrated all over the world in order to draw the attention of the people to this fell disease and to check its toll of human lives. Apart from being fatal, cancer is a most painful disease and must be tackled in its earlier stages. What is required for the purpose, are well-equipped clinics. I do not know if our ordinary hospitals are in a position to diagnose this disease at an early stage. If not diagnosed at an early stage, it becomes difficult to deal with. Therefore, it is all the more necessary that the urgency of the work is realised and quick action taken.

I hope the celebration of this Day will have the desired effect in this country. The Women's Indian Association has done well to draw the attention of the people to the problem. In doing so, you have added one more service to the many that you have been rendering to the country.

Inauguration of the World Cancer Day at Government House, Madras, on April 8, 1951.

I convey my best wishes to the Association and hope that its efforts would bear fruit.

I am glad that Dr. Khanolkar is here. He occupies a very high position in the work that is going on in connection with this disease. We, in India, are really proud of that and hope his association will enable this country to play a worthy part in the fight against cancer.

WORKERS IN OBSCURITY

I thank you all for the address of welcome. I am here on my first official visit after assuming office. It is very kind of the people of Madras to show their regard for the office of the President. I am not so foolish as to think that all this regard is intended for me personally. I think that it is, as it should be, intended for the office of the President who is supposed to represent the whole country and to serve all equally. It has been my privilege, since I arrived in this city, to be the recipient of goodwill and kindness from all. I have no doubt that it is intended to strengthen the position of the Head of the State so far as the country is concerned.

We attained independence only a short time ago. A great deal still remains to be done to make this independence full of meaning for everyone who resides in this country. We were engaged in a struggle to achieve freedom for a pretty long time. Even after having attained it, we have been confronted with numerous difficulties. We have, by God's grace, faced those difficulties to a considerable extent with success. But, that is not enough. A great deal of positive constructive work is required to make the people happy and prosperous and to make everyone in this country feel the glow of freedom. I think fighting for independence was not as difficult as is working for the good of the people. While we were engaged in the struggle against a foreign Power, we could get the assistance of all classes and groups of people who were in favour of independence. That was one kind of work and had its own rewards. It brought, in its train, a certain amount of suffering and sacrifice which were borne by one's own choice. A certain amount of publicity also went with that sacrifice. As the poet has said, the desire for fame is the last infirmity of noble minds. Perhaps, some of us might have been led into that life inspired more by the desire for fame, which after all is an infirmity.

Here, in this constructive work, we have a different kind of thing to do. No doubt, independence has brought with it many positions which we can occupy now, but which we could not aspire to in the past. We can make ourselves more comfortable and more prosperous. But, the man who wants to devote himself to the quiet service of the country has less reward by way of publicity and headlines in newspapers. In fact,

Speech at a joint reception by the Anjuman-e-Mufid-e-Ahl-e-Islam and the Muslim Educational Association at Royapettah, Madras, on April 8, 1951.

that is what the country needs today. We want our big politicians to conduct the affairs of the State. Apart from them, however, we want a large body of workers who will silently, quietly and, perhaps, in obscurity work day and night with the sole objective of serving the common man. Unless the country can produce a large number of such workers, the real object of winning independence will not be attained.

Many years ago, I had the opportunity of travelling with an Englishman who was holding a high position in this country as an educationist. He told me that if ever there was a revolution in this country, it would be a revolution of a very much different kind from what they were used to in Europe. He also told me that, in Britain, there was a large body of people whom nobody knew. These people were themselves rich and belonged to the upper classes, but devoting themselves to the service of the poor people. It was this class of people, the educationist stated, who by their service created a link between the high and the low, the rich and the poor and prevented a revolution of the kind which was seen in some countries of Europe. He also expressed his regret that in India that kind of link was not very visible and that there were not many people who were serving the lower strata of society, themselves being fortunate enough to belong to the higher strata. That remark I think is true today and if ever there was need for workers of that type, it is today. I have, therefore, felt that people belonging to every community in the country must produce a number of workers who will work silently, quietly and in obscurity.

The institutions which you represent have been doing the kind of silent work which we require. You have been trying to help students by giving them scholarships and in other ways too. Now, you have plans for opening a college to which all will be admitted. These are good things and I can congratulate you on what you have been doing for more than fifty years and on what you wish to accomplish now. I hope at the same time, that the institutions will produce from amongst those who have been helped by you, workers to serve the country. We want people who will work without regard to creed or religion. We want servants of men and not servants of Hindus or Muslims. Christians or Parsis alone. If the institutions which you represent can produce such workers, they will have done a great service to the country.

As the names show, these institutions are largely representative of Muslims. I desire to say one thing. We have had in this country what is known as the communal problem. We have tried to solve that

problem. I do not know whether we have succeeded. But, each one of us, whatever his religion or community may be, has to realise that he is born here, that he has to live in this country, that he breathes the air and atmosphere of this country and that when he dies, his mortal remains will return to the soil of this country. When you realise that, you will feel the great bond which ties all of us to this country. We hope that everyone, irrespective of his religion, will feel the responsibility and duty which he owes to this country. Once that realisation comes, there will be no problem which we cannot solve to the satisfaction of all.

Immediately after the attainment of independence, we had an unhappy experience. That experience has to be forgotten or if to be remembered at all, it is only as a warning and caution for the future. Under the aegis of the new Constitution, framed by representatives of all communities and creeds, I hope we shall all grow and prosper and make India the proud and great country that it is destined to be. We have had a past of which we may well be proud. I hope we shall have a future greater even than the past, great as the past was. In bringing about that future, everyone has to make his own contribution. Nothing but the very best is acceptable to the country and each one of us must be prepared to give the best that is in us for the service of the country. If we can do that, you can rest assured that, in this world, nothing goes unrewarded. Our labours will bear fruit and we shall see ourselves and, more than that, our children and children's children happier and more prosperous. Let us pray to God to give us that strength so that we may prove ourselves worthy of the freedom we have won.

THE STRUGGLE AFTER VICTORY

You are right in thinking that I am not a stranger either to the State or to the city of Mysore. I have paid several visits to the State and also to the city. Of course, this is the first time that I come in my capacity as President of the Indian Republic. Ever since I have arrived, it has been my good fortune to receive kindness from all. I desire to thank the members of the Municipal Council and the citizens of Mysore for the kindness they have showered upon me.

We have won our independence after a long struggle. Now, we have before us very hard and sustained work in this period of construction. We have now secured the power to fashion our lives according to our own wishes. It is for us to utilise the opportunity to the best advantage of the people of this vast country. We have had a long history and a culture of which we are rightly proud. Science has now annihilated distance and India, even if she wished to remain untouched and unaffected by cross-currents of the world, can not do so. We are passing through a period of transition in which not only many of our old ideas, but also our old institutions are more or less in the melting pot. We have, therefore, to be vigilant so that we may not lose the good that is in the past as also in the present. We have the opportunity to make a combination of the old and the new and to so develop and fashion our lives and our institutions as to make them most serviceable in the context of present world conditions.

Today, after my arrival, I received a letter signed by some persons who mentioned two things; one was the growth of public hotels and eating-houses in the city and the other was the growth of cinemas. They wanted that I should signalise my visit to this place by stopping or abolishing both. I am afraid it is not possible for me to do that even if I wished to. Our present Government is not an autocratic one and the Head of the State has no power to do whatever he likes. He has to be guided by the advice of the people's representatives, who in turn are to be guided by the people themselves. Unless there is a demand on the part of the people, generally, and that demand becomes so insistent that the Ministers cannot resist it, it is not possible to do away with the growing number of hotels or the growing number of cinemas.

Reply to the address presented by the Mysore City Municipal Council on April 9, 1951.

Apart from that, there is another view-point which we have to take into consideration. As I have said, many of our old ideas and our old institutions are now in the melting pot. We have the impact of ideas coming from all sides. Conditions which prevail in one part of the world cannot but have their effect on us. We know that our food deficit is considerable and we are being helped by the import of food from distant parts of the world. I do not know if a thing like that was possible or even conceivable, only 50 years ago. Today, we find that our appeal for food from other parts of the world has received response in distant countries. We are trying to get as much of it as we can from those places. This is one good aspect of present conditions. There are other things too which show to us how it is not possible for us to live in an isolated world of our own. The growth of hotels and cinemas is also the result of the impact of ideas and institutions which have come from abroad and which we cannot altogether evade or avoid.

The difficulty of having a home for each family, the difficulty of accommodation, the difficulty of getting servants, the difficulty of getting fuel and grain, and the general difficulty of running a household—all these induce the ordinary person to run to a cheap eating-house where he can get his food without the botheration of running a house. That explains the growing number of hotels. Similarly, the cinemas are explained by the desire to have some kind of amusement or recreation. They do not, I must say, always provide the very best kind of recreation or amusement. Very often, it is just the reverse of that, and which you would like not to have at all. Still, they are there and all that we can do is to regulate them so as to make them useful and to deprive them of their power to do harm. I am told that the number of hotels here is already being regulated. The Government of India has been trying to regulate the showing of films. To the extent that we succeed in regulating these to our benefit, they will be of use to us. If we failed in regulating them, they would be a source of harm to us. The impact of ideas and of new institutions cannot, however be avoided. What we can do is to make them useful for our purpose and to deprive them of their capacity for harm.

We have a great deal of work to do in this country. There is the question of the spread of education. There is the demand for the general improvement of the people's health. Above all, there is the question of the poverty of the masses. In all these departments of life and spheres of activity, we require a large number of workers who will devote themselves to ameliorative work. This is a kind of work which, in many



Receiving a casket containing an address of welcome at
Royapettah, Madras on April 8, 1951

Opening the Power Engineering Department and the High
Voltage Engineering Laboratory at Bangalore on April 10, 1951





Receiving the degree of Doctor of Laws from the Maharaja of Mysore at a Special Convocation on April 10, 1951

Laying the foundation-stone of the Vikram Kirti Mandir at Ujjain on May 8, 1951





The President pressing a button to unveil the statue of the late Maharaja Madhav Rao Scindia on May 9, 1951

Addressing a gathering of devotees at the restored temple of Lord Somnath in Patan on May 11, 1951





At the special Convocation of Osmania University on August 30, 1951

Addressing the Sanskrit Parishad, Darbhanga on November 21, 1951



respects, is more difficult than the struggle in which we were engaged against a foreign power. Wherever I have gone as President of the Republic, I have taken the liberty of reminding everyone of this great responsibility which has now fallen upon our people. To the extent we are able to discharge that responsibility, shall we have the capacity to rule ourselves.

Within the three years or so that we have been free, I must confess, we have not been able to achieve much, but there are reasons for that. The difficulties which we have had to face have been tremendous. We have been able to overcome many of the difficulties although it is as yet not possible to say that we have overcome them all. In this work, we require the sympathy, co-operation and active help of all classes of people. With the achievement of freedom, we can see, there are certain difficulties which are inherent in the situation itself. There are certain others, however, which are creations of our own. We owe it to ourselves and to the country to remove them and not to create them afresh. Whenever a big revolution takes place, there is a clash of ideas, of interests and of programmes, and these are becoming more and more apparent. That is no reason for disappointment or for apprehension as regards the future. If we are bent upon achieving real freedom for the people—freedom from want and from fear—we can certainly do that. All these are manifestations only of eagerness on the part of some people to achieve it sooner than other people. That is a point which must be borne in mind when we find that we are faced with different programmes and different ideologies. Each one of them has to be judged and scrutinised on its merits and if there is anything which we consider to be good, there is no shame in adopting and accepting the suggestion from whatever source it may come. Our Government, I know, will not hesitate to adopt them if it feels convinced that those are the right things to do.

We are passing through a period really of experimentation. The biggest experiment in democracy is going to be made in this country within the next few months when we shall have elections on the basis of adult franchise on a scale unprecedented in the history of mankind. With 17 or 18 crores of voters to go to the polls, and 4,000 seats to be filled, you can imagine the immensity of the task. It is a trial not only for the Government, but also for the people who have to show that having got the right to vote, they will decide things democratically, realising fully the great value of their votes. It opens to us a way of settling many of our differences by fair means. It gives us a chance also

of showing to the world that our masses understand the interests of the country. If we bear that in mind and vote to the best of our light, keeping in view the interests of the country at large, we shall have done very well indeed. The experiment will then be fully successful. If, on the other hand, we are not able to use the vote wisely or if forces arise in the country which make it difficult for us to use that vote at all or wisely, then it will be very difficult to maintain freedom. It is, therefore, necessary that we should all realise the great responsibility which has devolved on us and prepare ourselves for it.

This country, as I said in Madras the other day, has had a history that is not very pleasant. We have had large empires in this country. During the time of the Hindus, during the time of the Buddhists, as also during the time of the Muslims and the British, big empires extended over large tracts of this country. Before the British came, there was always a tendency, particularly in the outlying parts, to cut themselves adrift from the Centre. These tendencies, in evidence not only on the fringe but even in the heart of these empires, led to their downfall. What we need today is the realisation of the oneness, the unity of this vast continent. Let us not forget that today we have, under one Government, a large area and a large population than ever before in India's history. This is in spite of the fact that its wings on the north-west and on the north-east have been cut away. There have been Chakravartis, and emperors, but the rulers under them were all powerful within their own areas and owed only a nominal allegiance to the Emperor. Today, we have a Constitution which effectively governs every part of it. That is not a small achievement. We must remember that it has been possible because the people and, I must add, the Princes of India have all joined in bringing about that great consummation. It is the patriotism and statesmanship of all that has brought about this great Constitution of which we are justly proud. If that Constitution is to be worked, the same high standard of statesmanship, patriotism and devotion to duty has to be exhibited.

The first thing to remember is that this country is one. Our people realise the unity of this country and, even today, every Hindu, whether he is in the north or in the south, whether he is in the east or in the west, repeats the morning 'sloka' in which all the rivers from the north to the south are mentioned and he starts his 'Sandhya' with water which is supposed to be drawn from all rivers in this country. That is the picture of the country as a whole which has always been there. We have always allowed freedom in cultural matters, in language, customs and in practi-

cally everything else. As a result, we have a number of languages with rich literature. In spite of this diversity in language and customs, there has been an undercurrent of cultural unity throughout the entire country. Today, we have achieved it also politically and administratively. It is for us now to preserve and protect that unity and to defend the freedom of the country. Therefore, any tendency to separate from the country has to be deprecated. We cannot permit any kind of disruptive movement within the country, whether arising within the country or imported from outside. I wish the people, at large, realise this great responsibility which freedom has cast upon us. If we do that, I am quite sure other things will take care of themselves.

I convey to your city the best of good wishes that I can offer. It is a beautiful city. You have kept it in fine form and you are trying to make it still more beautiful. I have seen also a report of the various kinds of activities in which you are engaged within your municipal limits. The State of Mysore has justly enjoyed a reputation of administrative efficiency. In respect of many things, it is in advance even of what were known as British Indian provinces in the past. I can only hope that your tradition will be maintained and you will be able to carry forward the work of improving the lot of the masses still further.

I thank you all for your kindness and good wishes.

THE IMPORTANCE OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

I deem it a great honour to be associated with this function. I am not a man of science at all and am completely ignorant of the processes which you might be pursuing in these laboratories. As a layman, however, I am intensely interested in the results of those processes and experiments.

As you have said, it is not the first time that I have come to this place, but I am here after some years, and find the place completely changed. There have been so many new additions and extensions that if I were to be left alone, I would not be able to find my way. That shows the great improvement and the considerable expansion that has taken place in this institute. You have already added several departments and I believe you are going to add many more. The Government has been taking great interest in scientific research. During the last few years, we have succeeded in establishing about a dozen laboratories, spread all over the country, dealing with different subjects. This one, however, has the honour of being the first to have been established more than 40 years ago. It is a matter for congratulation that the founder of this institute was not the Government but an industrialist whose foresight, patriotism and great enterprise have given to the country not only the big steel works but a number of other factories which have grown under the aegis of the Tatas. The country will do well to remember the great service which Jamshedjee Nusservanji Tata rendered when he laid the foundation-stone of this great institute which is doing such wonderful work.

As I said, being a layman, I am interested only in the results of your work. From what was explained to me during the very short time I have been here, I could gather that you are engaged in work which would prove of immense benefit to the country and perhaps to humanity at large. You are engaged in research work which will enable us to fight certain diseases with drugs, locally prepared at a very much cheaper cost. You are engaged in developing engines which will burn fuel that is easily available even in villages. One of the difficulties which all our agricultural work faces is the scarcity of water. If we could provide sufficient water for irrigation, the country's food problem, I believe, could be

Speech at the opening ceremony of the Power Engineering Department & The High Voltage Engineering Laboratory and the foundation stone-laying ceremony of the Hydraulics Laboratory buildings at Bangalore, on April 10, 1951.

solved very easily. My own feeling is that there are vast tracts within this country which can be cultivated and where we can grow almost anything if we only had water. I say this from what I have seen in the desert sands of Rajputana. Where water has been provided, the sandy waste has become as green as the most fertile tracts in the country. We have also had experience of those districts, now in Western Punjab, which were at one time more or less in the same condition as Rajputana. Those districts have now become the granary of the Punjab. So, if you can develop some kind of engine which can be run by any fuel that is available in villages, you will have done a great service to agriculture.

You are not, I am told, confining yourselves only to that. You have been experimenting with various kinds of food. Though, I would personally like to have cow's milk, if I can get it, yet if you can give even some substitute for it, that will also be a great achievement. I am pleased to learn that you have succeeded to a considerable extent in producing something which is near to cow's milk, although not as good as cow's milk. But, if you take into account the water that is generally mixed with cow's milk—as we get it these days—your product will be even superior to cow's milk! These are things in which I, as a layman, am interested.

You are also carrying on experiments and research in connection with engines, aeroplanes and things of that sort. Well, those are things which, as I said, I do not understand. But, when I see your engines giving better performance than the engines which we are getting from elsewhere, I shall appreciate your work. I am sure I shall not have to wait very long before you will be able to satisfy me on that point.

I am supposed to do many things which I do not know and which I do not understand. Every Head of State has to do that, especially, in a democratic government where he has to act on the advice of responsible persons. So, in connection with your work also, I can only hope that the advice I have received has been of the right type and anything that I have done has been for your good. I am sure if there had been anything wrong, you would certainly have complained to me and you would have enabled me to look into the matter. I would invite you always to come up with your complaint if there is anything which you consider to be some wrong done by me as Visitor.

Now, coming generally to the use of scientific knowledge, as I have said, laymen are interested only in the results. Such tremendous progress is being made all the world over that for a country like India, it

becomes very difficult to keep pace with it. The other day, we had, what may be called, a phenomenon, although, it was really some sort of aircraft circling over Delhi and everybody's curiosity was aroused, mine included. I thought the best thing to do for me would be to ask the person who is supposed to be best qualified in such matters. So, I consulted our Air Marshal and I was told that it was an aircraft, that it was flying over India but nobody could say from where it came and where it went. All that could be said was that it was an aircraft. When asked whether it was possible to prevent the visitation of that kind from enemy aircraft, he replied that it was scientifically possible, but that the radar equipment necessary for this purpose would be very costly and India could not afford to have it. That shows the difficulty which India has to face in the progress of science. Other countries also possibly have to face similar difficulties, but they have been in the line for a very much longer time than ourselves.

I remember the days when hardly any science was taught in the colleges. I have read a little science, but any scientist would now tell me that it was practically no science at all. Since then, scientific study has advanced by leaps and bounds in this country. Now, we have laboratories in all our science colleges. Many professors are engaged in research work and some of them have made contributions which are recognised by the world as of very great value. We have made a great advance in that direction. Still, what we need is not only a few top-ranking men, but a general advance in science, and an institution like this can help considerably because it can supply the large number of required technical personnel. We envisage a great development of the electrical equipment industry in this country with the completion of our big multi-purpose river projects. I do not know when it will be possible actually to complete all the schemes which have been taken in hand or which are in contemplation or under investigation. But, there is no doubt that when even some of these come into operation, we shall have a tremendous addition to our power resources. When this becomes available, there can be no doubt that we shall add considerably to the production of the various kinds of things that we need. Therefore, apart from the equipment that we require, we also need a large number of technical personnel to run the various works which we shall be establishing. Institutions like the Indian Institute of Science can do much to supply these personnel. They will have plenty of work and I feel that no one who passes through these institutions will remain unemployed.

Our universities, today, turn out graduates who do not know what to do with their degrees or with their lives. The great merit of these

technical institutions will be that those who come out of them will be equipping themselves with something which they can immediately put to use and for which there is already a great demand in this country. I, therefore, even as a layman, feel much interested in all these laboratories and institutions. I do regard it as a great privilege to be associated with these institutions although my association can only be in name. I shall be very pleased now to lay the foundation-stone and also to open the new building.

GREAT LEEWAY TO MAKE

In your address, you have referred to the provision of amenities by the Corporation as also about their future programme. I am happy at the good record. You have also mentioned your big road programme for which you require assistance from the State and the Central Government. I have no doubt your request will receive the consideration of the authorities concerned and I hope that the funds raised will be utilised for the real purpose for which they were intended. You have been very fortunate in having administrators and rulers who have done so much not only to beautify this city, but also to improve the living conditions of the people.

The country is, at present, passing through a serious crisis on account of food scarcity. The Government of India and the State Governments are doing their best to meet it by importing foodgrains from outside and ensuring the distribution of grains in such a way as to see that everyone has some food and no one is allowed to starve. I hope we shall be able to get over the crisis. It is necessary also for the masses at large to gird up their loins and face the problem boldly and with faith and determination. I have no doubt that if we fight the problem in that spirit, we shall be able to get over the crisis.

We have, only for the last three or four years, been enjoying the power to shape our own destiny. We have had to face various kinds of difficulties. It is, therefore, no wonder that it has not been possible for our Governments, either Central or State, to do all that they had wished to do for improving the material condition of the people. Our foremost duty is to raise the standard of living of the people and make them more prosperous. It is undoubtedly true that, in many respects, independence has not brought us all that we had hoped for. But, the interval has been too short and we have had to face one crisis after another. We should not, however, feel disappointed at the inevitable happenings. We have, in the last three or four years, laid the foundation for big advances by establishing a large number of laboratories all over the country which are carrying on not only fundamental research, but also research of a radical nature which can be made applicable to the solution of practical problems.

Speech at civic reception and public meeting at the Race Course, Bangalore, on April 10, 1951.

We are also contemplating, in fact have already in hand, several schemes which are likely to add immensely not only to our agricultural resources and production, but also to our power resources which will enable all kinds of industries to be started. We have also under contemplation various kinds of land reforms which would make the agriculturist understand what is good for the country at large. Although, we have not achieved results, we are sure to lay the foundations for future achievements.

The problems before us are so tremendous that we might well be overwhelmed by them. You will realise what a huge amount of work remains to be done. We have been an agricultural country since time immemorial and we have a lot of very valuable experience in that sphere. Our agriculturist knows a great deal more of agriculture than his counterpart in many other lands. Even then, we have not been able to solve our agricultural problems. The introduction of improved and mechanised methods of production is no doubt important. But, the problem remains of the ordinary agriculturist with his small holding on which he cannot use the latest machinery that is available.

In this age, machinery is making rapid progress. In fact, machinery has already achieved so much progress that one sometimes wonders if there is any room left for what may be called small cottage industries. I am one of those who believe that not only is there room for cottage industry, but it is absolutely necessary if our country is to develop. Our problem is to find employment for the teeming millions that inhabit this vast land. We can have machinery, we can have big factories employing large numbers of labourers. But, the amount of production that each factory gives has absolutely no relationship to the number of workers who are employed in it. In a spinning factory, one labourer replaces perhaps 200 spinners. In a weaving factory, one labourer replaces perhaps 20 labourers who work upon handlooms. All these big factories only increase unemployment. They give us cheap things in a sense, but it is not in the interest of the people at large. As I have said, there is still room for vast numbers of our people to find employment in cottage and small-scale industries. Unless the problem of unemployment is solved, we cannot hope to improve village economy. It is, therefore, imperative to find a *via media* between large scale industries and cottage and small-scale industries.

The greatest need at the present moment is production and more production all round—in industry, in agriculture and in other spheres. We hear so much of the rise in prices. What is worse, it has been rising

higher and higher in the last four or five years. High prices ruling in one part of the world could not but have their reaction in other parts of the world. The Government of India, nevertheless are doing their best to maintain a reasonable price-level. This spiral of rising prices has somehow to be broken. Due to the Korean war, prices went up again and are still rising. We can only hope that this conflict in Korea will not extend beyond the present limits and will not involve the world in another conflagration. Our Government has been trying its best to keep the conflict confined, but, as you may know, we only recently attained independence and, naturally, we do not command that influence which some of the big Powers command. It is a matter of pride that within our limited resources and with our limited experience, we are able to make our voice felt in international affairs.

We have succeeded in bringing the whole of India under one Constitution, an achievement of which we ought to be proud. India, today, is very much bigger and very much greater in every sense than she has been at any time in the past. It is India as a whole that will count in international affairs. We have to face the realities of the present day. With all inherent differences and shortcomings, let each of us feel it his primary duty to be loyal to the Constitution and to the country. The spirit of patriotism and sacrifice for the cause of the country which animated us in our fight for independence must be kept up as our freedom would be at stake. We are apt, occasionally, to think that after we have won independence, nothing more remains to be done! I desire to warn you against this danger. It was difficult enough to win independence. It is not less difficult in any sense to maintain and preserve it and for that purpose, we require all our resources—mental, material and above all spiritual. It pains me sometimes to think that there has been a noticeable deterioration in character. Mahatma Gandhi had taken us up to a very high level and with the disappearance of his physical body, we are not able to maintain ourselves at that high level. We must also remember that it was spiritual strength alone which enabled us to win our freedom and unless we are able to maintain that strength, we do not know where this deterioration will end and how far, down below, we shall go. It is, therefore, for everyone of us to think how we can resist it.

It is very easy to find fault with others for having done or not having done something. It is not so easy to find fault with ourselves. But, if you think of it and try to analyse it, it will be very much easier to find your own fault because you know your own mind, as also your actions. We do not have the means of knowing the motives which actuate others

and of knowing what passes in their minds. It is part of the principle of 'ahimsa' not to look others' faults but to your own. If all of us tried to remove our own faults, there would be no fault left in the country. Our ancestors rightly attached the greatest importance to spiritual force. With the high ideals placed before the country by Mahatma Gandhi, even very small deviations from the right path shock us. I have been warning people against moral deterioration and I want the people of this State and the people of this city to set an example to others, in that respect.

We hear so much of black-marketing these days. Let us, each one of us, make up our mind not to take advantage of the present conditions of scarcity in the country—whether we are producers, traders, or consumers. When we make up our minds not to go to the black-market, it must come to an end. This is a small beginning. We must all realise that each one of us has contributed in his own way to the existence of what is called the black-market.

I want everyone, whatever his position or function, to do his work in a responsible and honest way. There is a visible tendency, in many places, to a kind of laziness. The result is to give the country less than what the country ought to get from the particular individual who is lazy. Everyone must do his work conscientiously and in the interests of the country whether he is a labourer in the field or a worker in a factory, whether he is an employer or is employed as a clerk in an office, or whether he is a Minister. That is a problem which cannot be solved by Government, whatever it may do. It can be solved only by the common men and women of this country. Let me hope that they will rise to the occasion and solve all the problems. They can do it. It only requires determination to do it and I am sure we shall succeed in everything that seems difficult today.

REORIENTATION OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

I thank you all for the great honour you have done me by conferring on me the degree of Doctor of Laws. I was a lawyer at one time. It was long, long ago, and the little law I knew then, I have had plenty of time to forget. I know, the present honour has been conferred on me not because I am a lawyer but for other reasons and, therefore, I have had less hesitation in accepting it. As a young man, one of my ambitions was to become a Doctor of Laws. With that object in view, I passed the examination that was held in the Calcutta University where I was a student. Just at the time when I was called away by Mahatma Gandhi, I was working on a thesis for the Doctorate. It did not come to me, but since then I have had the Doctorate from several universities. I do not know how far I have deserved the honour.

Your Highness has referred in the address to my association with Mahatma Gandhi. It had been a rare privilege for me. It would have been a rare privilege for anyone to have that kind of association. In my case, I came in close association with Mahatmaji at a rather early age and at an early stage of his work in India. As a result of Mahatma Gandhi's influence on me, I came to have absolute faith in truth and non-violence. Of the several movements started by Mahatmaji, one of the greatest was at Champaran. When Gandhiji arrived at the scene, there were all kinds of difficulties from which tenants were suffering. Even then, he did not wish to show any ill-will to the planters. To us who were then new and who did not know either the technique or the cult of 'ahimsa', it appeared to be a strange thing. We worked with Mahatmaji day and night for months together. After six months or so, the Government appointed a Commission to go into the whole question. As a result of the report of that Commission, a law was passed by which most of the grievances of the tenants were removed. Within two or three years, all the planters left their plantations and indigo planting ceased. I do not think the planters went away unhappily. They left their plantations after selling away their plots at good profit. They went away with the goodwill of the tenants who actually purchased all their lands and paid them very handsomely. What we considered an important thing was actually realised, and after three or four years of Mahatmaji's movement there, indigo planting ceased to exist and the grievances which had existed for more than a hundred years came to an end. I realised then that Gandhiji

Address at the Special Convocation of the Mysore University at Crawford Hall, Mysore, on April 10, 1951.

was perfectly right when he said that he wanted to end the grievances of the tenants without leaving any ill-will or bitterness on the other side.

Soon after the movement, I wrote a small book about it. In that book, I wrote a few sentences about this very thing. I wrote that Gandhiji succeeded in ending tyranny in this way and we shall also win our freedom with the goodwill of the Britishers who would no doubt lose an empire. That prophecy has come true. Today, I think there is no one in India who has anything like ill-will against Englishmen and, I believe, on the other side too there is a fund of goodwill towards India. India has won because Mahatma Gandhi followed even in his struggle against an empire, the principle of 'ahimsa' which he had preached all his life. I know, at the present moment, it is somewhat difficult to talk in terms of truth and 'ahimsa'. All around us, especially in distant parts of the world, we see preparations for violence on an unprecedented scale. There is now no person who can place before the world the ideal of 'ahimsa' with the strength and the conviction of Mahatma Gandhi. Unless it is done with that faith and conviction, it is not likely to have the effect which Mahatma Gandhi's words used to have. That is, I think, a great misfortune not only for India, but for the world at large. Those of us who had the privilege of being associated with Mahatma Gandhi have, therefore, a special duty and a special responsibility to hold aloft his banner of non-violence. I can only pray that God will give us sufficient strength to do it with success.

As I have said, I am grateful to the University for the honour it has conferred upon me. Within the last year or so, I have had several occasions to address convocations of universities and other learned bodies. On all such occasions I have drawn attention to the fact that our whole attitude towards higher education has to be revised and reorientated. The object of a university is two-fold, especially in this country. We have to see that higher education spreads. That is one aspect of the university curriculum. The other aspect is the extension of the bounds of knowledge. In both these respects, I think, our universities have to revise their old curricula and course of study. Today, most of the graduates do not know what to do with their degrees or with themselves. What we need is an education which would enable them to face the struggle of life. University education has to be so arranged as to enable them to face their future in this world, equipped with knowledge and experience that will help them. The other aspect, of course, is to turn out a number of people who have the capacity, intelligence, determination and application to carry the bounds of knowledge further.

We have, in all universities, a number of research scholars and students who are doing that kind of work. There also, I would say, it should be extended in such a way as to make it more useful. Of course, there is, all the world over, a fraternity amongst scholars, who are adding to the fund of knowledge in all departments. If the scholars succeed in making the available knowledge practically applicable to our own conditions, to help our own people to grow and prosper, they would be doing the greatest service and I would suggest that our universities should devote more and more attention to that kind of research work. I do not minimise the value of the cultural side of education. That has a value of its own and it should not be neglected.

A tremendous impetus has been given to education during the recent past and not only colleges, but also universities are growing up everywhere. In the last ten years or so, we have added considerably to the number of universities in India. Every high school student thinks of going to college and after having entered the college, he naturally wants to have a degree. The trouble, however, comes after he gets the degree. Most of the graduates, as I have remarked, do not know what to do, nor do their parents who spent so much on their university education. I think our education should be so managed that only those who are fit should enter the university while the bulk of the students should be diverted to other kinds of education. That does not mean that people should go without education and culture. Everyone should have a modicum of education and culture which is essential to enable him to take his proper place in the social organisation without having to go through university education. If the whole thing is overhauled and reorientated in that way my own feeling is that our universities would be able to render great service.

I thank you, gentlemen, for the honour you have conferred upon me and I thank the Chancellor for the very kind words he has spoken about me.

WRATH OF NATURE

It is a great pleasure to open this exhibition. As you have yourself said, exhibitions can play a great part in bringing before the public the many things which are being produced in our cottages and in our factories. To have an organisation which would be constantly placing samples before the public, of what is being done, is really a very good thing. But, as it appears, this organisation of yours is useful in other respects also. You have been able to contribute a pretty large sum towards the relief of sufferers in Assam—I understand you have already contributed Rs. 4 lakh. You are today able to give me, as an earnest of future collections, another decent cheque of Rs. 25,000 and want to make it one lakh. These facts alone show how your work is proceeding successfully. It also shows that the people, generally, have appreciated your work. Otherwise, you would not be getting the money that you have been able to raise, although the cause is a laudable and good one.

Since I have been to Assam, which perhaps many of you have not visited after the earthquake, I might tell you how the terrible catastrophe has upset life in that State. Some time ago, I visited that State and particularly the area which has been devastated by the earthquake. You know that the Himalayas extend right up to that place and we were flying in an aircraft to the north-eastern point of India's boundary with Burma and China. On the way, we were passing over the portions worst affected by the earthquake. I was surprised when I saw along the hill-side, two colours—some portions a dark green and others white. I thought that might be light and shade. But that was not so. It was explained to me that the portions looking white meant that the trees and other green vegetation on that part of the hills had been demolished by the earthquake. Such big landslides had taken place that, for miles and miles, the hills had broken down and everything along the hills had crashed. You can only imagine the awful sight of thousands of big trees standing along these hill-sides being thrown down. What happened to these trees? There are many rivers which carry the water from the hills. They meet the Brahmaputra at some stage or the other. The Brahmaputra carries all the water through parts of Assam and Eastern Bengal into the sea. The result of this tremendous upheaval of the mountain side was to obstruct completely the course of many of these rivers. In the lower regions the rivers became dry while there was a tremendous amount of water being accumulated above. Naturally, the dam which

Opening of the Industrial Exhibition at Cubban Park, Bangalore, on April 11, 1951.

was thus created by the earthquake was not able to stand the force of this accumulated water and an intervals of 10, 15 or 20 miles, it gave way and a tremendous quantity of water was then carried along those rivers. The outlying parts on both sides of the river banks were flooded to such an extent that nothing could stand there. So, it was not only the earthquake, but the floods which followed that caused all havoc. I do not know if the devastating floods have ceased even now. You could see the whole river full of big trees, which were being carried along the current. These trees were all white as if the entire bark had been, somehow or other, most carefully removed and the inner core exposed. Of course, nobody had touched these trees. The friction with the mountain side had peeled the bark. Wherever some firm ground appeared in the rivers, you could see it all covered with trees which had been deposited there. Nobody knows how many millions of trees and how many crores worth of timber were carried away. You will realise how the land itself was affected and how individuals suffered due to the earthquakes and the floods.

You have been doing very good work for the relief of these people and I am quite sure that the money going there is being utilised to the best advantage of its people. I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for this opportunity of meeting you all. I thank you all the more for the enthusiasm which you have shown in collecting funds for the relief of sufferers in Assam.

VIKRAM KIRTI MANDIR

It is a rare privilege to lay the foundation-stone of the Vikram Kirti Mandir to be built in memory of Vikramaditya who has reigned supreme in the hearts of our people as an embodiment of the ideal of kingship. Legends of his fame, like those about Rama and Krishna, have reached the four corners of the country and been retold in the humblest of cottages. Lord Rama and Lord Krishna are worshipped as gods; the memory of Vikramaditya, a mere mortal, has been cherished through the ages with an affection that is impossible to bestow on a god. The legendary tales about him invest him with miraculous and mysterious powers and have found a place in the hearts of both the literate and the illiterate. Collections of stories, such as *Baital Pachisi*, *Tota Maina*, *Singhasan Battisi* became so popular that modified versions of them reached even foreign countries. I do not believe that it is wrong to say that an appreciable portion of the legendary literature of many countries is built around tales connected with Vikramaditya. Indeed, these stories are listened to with as much interest as a recital of the *Ramayana* or *Gita*. More than this, to men of learning, Vikramaditya is known for his generosity, courage, sense of justice and devotion to the welfare of the people. He so completely identified himself with the welfare of his subjects that it is often said of him that he made no distinction between "mine" and "yours". His generosity was boundless and no one who went to him for help ever came back disappointed. Rightly has the poet said of him: "A mere glance was equal to a thousand pieces of gold; a word, ten thousand; a smile, a hundred thousand; and his pleasure, ten million pieces of gold." He was even prepared to lay down his life to defend the poor and helpless, and many stories are told of his heroism. His courageous defence of the poor inspired the poet to sing: "Unparalleled in valour, endurance and daring is he."

It is a pity that historians have not been able to come to any definite conclusions regarding this valiant hero of saga and romance. This is due to the fact that it has not been possible, so far, to collect the data and information necessary to reconstruct the history of this vast and ancient land. Even though the British, till recently our rulers, made praiseworthy efforts to chronicle the history of our country, yet their work remains unfinished. It has not been possible to collect all the relevant

Speech at the foundation-stone laying ceremony of the Vikram Kirti Mandir, Ujjain, on May 8, 1951.

historical data, scattered widely in India and abroad. Besides, invaders destroyed many of our historical books and monuments and, as a result of their vandalism, invaluable historical material was lost. Therefore, the fact that historical material is at all available is more surprising than the paucity of it. It is no wonder then that both the age and the personality of Vikramaditya are still shrouded in mystery.

It is, thus, essential that we solve this and the other puzzles of our history. In order to become the arbiters of our destiny, it is vital that we have a full understanding of our background. While the reins of government were in the hands of foreign rulers, we were, to a large extent, the slaves of their desires and the current of our life was determined, very largely, by their arbitrary decisions. Then our mistakes could not have such far-reaching results as they would have today, when we are the architects of our destiny. Therefore, we need to exercise the greatest possible caution. Whatever the reasons, we have made no cultural or economic progress during the last few centuries. If we wish to safeguard our freedom, we must make up for the time lost. It is, therefore, that we understand the emotional and intellectual elements in our national consciousness, for only then would it be possible for us to make cultural and economic progress.

An understanding of our national consciousness can, however, come only when we have a clear picture of our history before us. To draw such a picture, we must discover and collect historical data, both in India and abroad, with a single-minded purpose. Our Government has, already, made a beginning in this direction and is taking steps to accomplish this task as speedily as possible, but it is also necessary that our scholars should remain vigilant and continue to work for the recovery of such data. I am happy to see that you are alive to this need and that one of the aims of this Kirti Mandir will be to collect and preserve historical material obtained through archaeological excavations or other sources. However, it is a matter for regret that your project cannot be implemented on the scale initially planned owing to financial stringency. It is, indeed, a pity that we do not have the necessary financial resources for work of such great importance. What an irony of fate that the land which knew the unbounding charity and generosity of Vikramaditya should, now, be unable to provide sufficient funds for completing a memorial to him. I do believe that your financial difficulties would, ultimately, be removed. As I have just said, the aim of our history should be to interpret, correctly, that which constitutes our national consciousness. A correct appraisal of the Vikramadityan tradition would

provide valuable material for the reformulation of history as some of the earliest known beliefs regarding the duties of the individual in relation to the State have been ascribed to this period.

In spite of my personal interest in history, it is not possible for me to spend any appreciable time in understanding or answering the questions it poses. Nevertheless, from my studies relating to Vikramaditya, it appears to me that on the basis of the available data, it is not possible to say certainly that the saga of Vikramaditya is mythical and without roots in history. Most historians are agreed that in the first century B.C., the Sakas invaded Avanti and occupied Ujjaini and that, a few years later, they suffered a heavy defeat and had to retreat. However, the identity of the hero, who defeated the Sakas, is not clearly established although the literature of the Jain period refers to Vikramaditya as the victor who liberated Ujjaini from the Sakas. Both the *Katha Sarit Sagar* and the *Brihat Katha Manjari* give evidence to this effect. But, historians suspect that these references are the result of legendary tales about Vikramaditya having been incorporated into literature. Their doubt rests, primarily, on the fact that the period, now known as the Vikrama era, was known, till the end of the 9th century B.C., first as the Krit era and later as the Malava era. If this era derived its name from the glories of Vikramaditya, it should, from the very beginning, have been known as the Vikram era. Further, there is no inscription, archaeological evidence, or any reference to Vikramaditya in the *Purans* and it is hard to believe that such an illustrious king did not find a place even in the *Purans*. But I consider it unfair, on the basis of this negative evidence, to regard folk-lore and literary allusions as a mere figment of the imagination. It may be conceded no doubt that modern investigators are often able to know much more accurately what happened in the past than people living soon after or very near those events. But, at the same time, I also feel that as far as Vikramaditya is concerned, it was possible several centuries ago to prove that the stories about Vikramaditya were legends, because at that time historical material, later destroyed by the vandalism of invaders, was still available. Vikramaditya was never elevated to the status of a god. Therefore, there could be no reason why doubts about the veracity of the stories relating to him could not be raised. There is scope for much research on this subject.

Speaking of research, I would like to invite the attention of scholars to the fact that, according to the historical records available to us, Ujjaini was a centre for trade with the Middle East. It may therefore be safely guessed that people from Arabia, Egypt, Abyssinia and Persia must have

visited this Indian city, quite frequently. It is possible that the ancient literature of these Middle-Eastern countries might contain references to Ujjaini and, possibly, its rulers. I do not know how many of our scholars have examined these literatures from this point of view. Sri Ishwar Datt Shastri, in a thesis based on the research conducted by Gyanendra Dev Sufi refers to *Sairul-Uquol*, a book in the Maktab-Sultania, the State Library in Istanbul, which the present ruler, Sultan Salim commissioned to be written on the basis of an ancient book. Sri Shastri holds that this book contains poetical selections by Arab poets ranging from the pre-Muhammad era to the age of Haroun-el-Rashid and is believed to have been compiled by Abu Amir Abdul Asmai, the court poet of Haroun-el-Rashid. The writer has cited a poem which was composed 125 years before the birth of the Prophet Muhammad. The gist of the poem is: "Those born during the reign of King Vikramaditya are, indeed, fortunate, for he was a king whose bounty, piety and love for his people knew no limit." Even though this extract belongs to the 5th century A.D., yet, if it is historically correct, it does prove that the saga of Vikramaditya was current even in the remote land of Arabia, and I think that if research is conducted in the literature of the Near-East, and the sagas, myths and legends of Central Asia and Indonesia, it is possible that we may come across material which would help us to establish the truth of this matter. Further, we also need to collect more information regarding the *Brihat Katha* of Gunadhya.

In concluding, I would add that it is the duty of us all, particularly the statesmen and administrators of modern India, to emulate the shining example of Vikramaditya and to serve the common man with the same zeal, understanding and self-sacrifice.

THE GREAT MARATHA

It is with pleasure that I am performing the unveiling ceremony of this memorial to a great scion of the Sindhia dynasty—the late Maharaja Madhava Rao Sindhia. The Sindhia dynasty has a place of its own in the history of India. It had the privilege of spreading the power of the Marathas and the glory of becoming its shield in Northern India. Again, along with the Holkars, the Sindhia dynasty was largely responsible for the recovery of the Maratha State from the catastrophic blow it had received in the battle of Panipat and in making it, once again, the great and glorious power it once was. Even though the late Maharaja would have won his place in history by virtue of his being a scion of that dynasty, his talent, ability and the paternal care he showered on his people, have added significance to his position in the history of Madhya Bharat. By this memorial, therefore, you are not so much adding to his glory as you are honouring yourself by acknowledging your association with his memory. It was your duty to express your gratitude to him for what he had done for you and it is but proper that the visible form of your gratitude is this beautiful memorial. But, your duty to the late Maharaja remains unfulfilled until you adopt the ideals which had shaped the course of his life. Even a cursory glance at his life reveals an ideal of service. During his life, all the means of self-indulgence and luxury were available to him. He had unlimited wealth and royal power, youth and personal charm. And though, it is true that even one of them is sufficient for a man to fall and only rare individuals can escape complete moral destruction if all four of these are to be found together, the late Maharaja, even though he had ascended the throne in the prime of his youth, was not tempted by a life of pleasure. On the contrary, he dedicated himself to promoting the welfare of the State. He ruled for 31 years, and during this entire period, he was engaged in the service of his people. He brought about the progress of the State in economic, administrative, cultural and other spheres. By his devotion to duty, he endeared himself both to his people and to the paramount power. I believe that in his life-long devotion to duty, he was inspired by the belief that the supreme consummation of life lies, not in self-gratification, but in disinterested service of the people.

Inspired by this ideal of service, the Maharaja, after assumption of power, considered it his first duty to reorganise the administrative depart-

Speech delivered on the occasion of the unveiling of the statue of Maharaja Madhava Rao of Sindhia in Ujjain, on May 9, 1951.

ment of the State and to establish an administrative system which may be known for its efficiency and integrity. He worked hard to realise this objective and was able to achieve a considerable measure of success. At the same time, he was far-sighted enough to take steps to ensure that the reforms and the new system which he was introducing in the interests of his subjects, would not encounter any difficulty for want of funds. He, therefore, invested the surplus funds of the State in progressive and profitable enterprises and industries, so that the State may continue to receive high returns from such investments. He also made a provision for building up a fund by keeping in reserve 20 to 25 per cent. of the State revenues annually to help the State to secure necessary money for its schemes of irrigation, education and famine relief. Besides, with the help of these savings, it was possible for him to develop railways and start new factories and industries in the State, without raising additional or new taxation. It was again inspired by the ideal of the welfare and service of his people that he transferred some of his powers to popular representatives and established a legislative council and local bodies, as also, a judiciary separated from the executive. Even though political conditions have now changed, yet the importance of this ideal remains undiminished and though, it should, no doubt, be binding on all of us, it is binding much more on those who were, till yesterday, the rulers and sovereigns of the Indian States. On this occasion, I would like to congratulate the Indian Princes, their relations and successors for the co-operation that they extended voluntarily, to Sardar Patel in the realisation of the goal of Indian political unity. Down the ages, the glaring weakness of India's political life has been that, in spite of its cultural, economic and geographical unity, it was divided into many States which in the event of a national crisis could never offer united resistance against an enemy. If, therefore, this political weakness had persisted even after India had recovered her lost freedom, the danger would have always remained of that freedom being lost again. Sardar Patel, whose life was spent in an incessant struggle for winning back our freedom, was well aware that if numerous sovereign States remained within the bosom of India, it was possible that the Goddess of freedom for whose pleasure he and his countless countrymen had sacrificed so much, would turn her face away, annoyed by our internal jealousies, conflicts and dissensions. It was, therefore, his first objective that India should become one sovereign State into which the Indian States would merge.

To realise an aim like this, statesmen in other ages and countries had to resort to war. It was because of his conviction that this aim

could be realised only by force of arms that Bismarck had remarked that the problems of his age could be solved only by the policy of blood and iron. He himself had to wage two important wars to bring about the unity of Germany. The problem of Indian unity from the geographical and, to a certain extent, from the political point of view, was more difficult than that of German unity, but the peaceful way in which it was solved is unparalleled and unprecedented. Some of the credit for this, no doubt, goes to the Princes, their associates and advisers. It is my belief that they gave a fine example of liberalism and devotion to duty by contributing to the reconstruction of India and they deserve our congratulation and gratitude. At the same time, I would like to tell them that the *Maha Yagna* of the reconstruction of India has not yet been completed. It shall go on as long as such cultural, economic and social conditions have not been established in this land, in which everyone would have the opportunity for self-expression and to make his life rich and fruitful. Naturally, therefore, none of us and, in no circumstances, those who have talent and administrative experience, should withdraw his offering, thinking that enough had been done. The time has not yet arrived for any one of us to examine the price which he or she has paid for it nor is it right for any one to calculate the sacrifice of leisure, luxuries and convenience for this great task. The danger is that such computations might cause differences, heart-burning and even opposition amongst ourselves. We will not tolerate any kind of obstacle or disturbance in the task in which we are engaged today. We are all aware that, during the last few centuries, we have not made any progress in the field of economics and culture due to foreign domination. Therefore, to preserve our existence and independence, it is absolutely necessary that we do not waste even a single moment in internecine conflict. Thus, it is plain that we will not tolerate any one—be he a commoner, or a man of status—who, in anyway, disturbs or puts an obstacle on the road to our reconstruction. Each one of us has to realise that India must move forward. Providence has so ordained that no mortal may retrace his steps. However attractive the past might seem, man must always look towards the future. It is my hope that every one in our country, whoever he might be, would recognise the immutability of Destiny, because the conditions that have changed and the systems that have been abolished can never be brought back. An effort to recreate the values of a bygone age would not only be in vain but also invite failure and trouble.

On the other hand, I consider that it is the duty of each one of us to offer all we can to this task of national reconstruction. Princes of the

merged Indian States, because of their administrative experience, can render yeomen service. We, at this moment, are in need of able administrators. The role of the State, in the life of the common people, is a growing and expanding one. We, therefore, need experienced and capable people who can help in the various aspects of administration. I believe many of the princes and the scions of the merged Indian States possess this experience. We have always wanted that the country should have the advantage of their experience and ability, and also to provide them opportunity to prove their skill in the administrative system of the Union and the States. But, however extensive the field of our administrative work may be, it is not large enough to provide such an opportunity to each one of the Princes of the merged States. But, at the same time, it should be remembered that the political field is not the only sphere in which one can express one's self. On the other hand, in the stormy arena of politics, an individual does not always get that opportunity of realising the best in him which he can get in the sphere of cultural or industrial developments. The Princes of these merged States and their relations, have thus, an unlimited scope for using their talents in these latter spheres. As everyone is aware, the supreme need of the moment is to bring our country on level with other modern industrialised countries. It is my belief that the Princes of the merged States with their capital and inherited administrative ability and experience can, to a very great extent, if they devote their energies to the world of economic uplift, serve the country and the nation. They can also work for the promotion of culture in this country. They have leisure, wealth and other necessary facilities. It has been their family tradition to patronise and support cultural activities. It is, therefore, easy for them to become the motive power behind the cultural renaissance of India.

The future is beckoning to them and I hope they will not remain deaf to the call of destiny. Our historic princely tradition demands that they throw themselves into the service of the common people. In our country, a prince was considered to be a paid servant of the people and he was expected to devote himself to their welfare. Numerous Indian princes were faithful to this ideal of public service and the prince whose memory we are commemorating today, also fully lived up to it. But what was considered proper and adequate public service in the recent past would not be suited to the changed circumstances of the present. Today, we can serve the people only in the manner of Vidhraj Janaka who at a time of famine and scarcity, did not hesitate to plough the land

with his own hand, because he made no distinction between royalty and commoners. In this age of democracy, the best course for the present descendants of these ancient ruling dynasties would be to work in the steps of the great Janaka. In his own way Maharaja Madhava Rao Sindhia followed this ideal and we can show respect to his memory by making this same ideal our guiding star.

With these words I unveil the statue of the late Maharaja Madhava Rao Sindhia.

SOMNATH—A SYMBOL OF FAITH

According to our shastras, Somnath is one of the twelve *Jyotir lingas*. Naturally, therefore, this temple of Lord Somnath had become the symbol of the wealth, the faith and the culture of India. Its feet were washed by the ocean whilst its dome kissed the Heavens. In its vast quadrangle, innumerable devotees gathered from all the regions and provinces of India to place at the feet of Lord Shankara their boundless devotion and love and their great wealth. In those days, it was the centre of the faith and the wealth of this country. The fame of its unparalleled glory and wealth had spread to distant regions and countries. Unfortunately, during several centuries it had to suffer calamity after calamity. Again and again it was desecrated and demolished. But, while the external symbols of a national faith may be destroyed, nothing can destroy the fountains of that faith. It was for this reason that in spite of having numerous calamities there always remained in the hearts of the Indian people an undying faith and respect for this Temple of Lord Somnath. It ever was their determination to build this temple again every time it was destroyed and they went on doing so time after time.

We hear the hum of a vast crowd of men and women gathered here from all parts of the country at this moment when this historic temple is coming to life again. In my opinion, we are having the good fortune of witnessing this sacred scene simply because of the creative urge and undying faith which dwell in the heart of man just as Brahma, the Creator, dwells on the Lotus of Lord Vishnu. This faith and creative energy are more powerful than all the weapons, all the armies and all the emperors of this world. By rising from its ashes again, this Temple of Somnath is, so to say, proclaiming to the world that no man and no power in the world can destroy that for which people have boundless faith and love in their hearts. We are re-installing the idol today and it is my conviction that it will live as long as it has its place and foundation in the hearts of the people.

On this sacred and historic occasion, it is desirable for all of us to realise the great secret of spiritual faith—that to have a glimpse of God or Truth, it is not necessary for all men to follow one and only one path. On the contrary, if man devotes himself with all love and faith to the

Speech delivered on the occasion of the installation of the idol of Lord Somnath in the Somnath Temple at Patan, on May 11, 1951.

service of his fellow human beings and if he dedicates himself to the establishment of the kingdom of love and beauty on this earth, he would surely be able to realise God whatever may be the manner of his worship. This great truth had been perceived by our ancient seers and they had proclaimed it to mankind. They had consistently declared that though He is one, yet the wise describe Him in many ways and by many names. Similarly, according to the 'Mahabharat' all paths lead to God just as all rivers flow to the ocean. Unfortunately, this great truth of life and faith was not properly grasped by people in many ages which led to very destructive and terrible wars between different countries and peoples. It is plain, therefore, that religious intolerance cannot have any other consequence but to produce bitterness and immorality among men. This is the lesson of history and I would like all my countrymen to grasp it firmly. In our country, particularly, it is very necessary that each one of us should realise that the best course is to act with a sense of respect and equally towards every community and creed. In it lies the welfare of our nation and country and of every one of us. This faith and conviction has impelled India to adopt the policy of secularism and to give an assurance that there shall be no discrimination on grounds of religion. Everyone would be provided equal opportunities. In conformity to this ideal, I have respect and affection for all the faiths. Even though I am a Sanatanist Hindu by faith and daily practice, yet, I believe that every man can reach God by worshipping Him according to the dictates of his own faith. Not only have I respect for all religions and their places of worship but I also go to them to pay my respect whenever possible. Whenever there is an opportunity, I go to the 'durgah' and the 'masjid', the church and the 'gurudwara' with the same feeling of respect with which I go to the temples of my faith. The present celebrations in my view proclaim this very truth. It is very plain today that the policy of religious intolerance has always been and shall ever continue to be a failure.

I would also like you to realise that the restoration of this broken link of history does not and cannot imply that we are making or should make an effort to re-establish in our country the psychological, cultural, social and religious conditions which existed here in the centuries that are past. It is no doubt possible for man to turn back but it is not given to man to return to the moment that has passed away. In the world of time, man has no option but to continue marching forward. Indeed, he may look behind to get some light and guidance for the future but he can never return. Today, our attempt is not to rectify history. Our only aim here is to proclaim anew our attachment to the faith, convictions and

to the values on which our religion has rested since immemorial ages. We also proclaim to the world that the great truth of spiritual life teaches that every individual should have full independence and opportunities for rising to the highest glory of life to which his experience and natural talents entitle him. On this sacred occasion, it is the duty of each one of us to take a pledge that just as we have restored this historic temple—a symbol of our ancient faith—so also would we put new life into the Temple of Prosperity of our people.

In the past, our country was the industrial centre of the civilised world. Caravan loads of manufactured goods from this country used to go to distant lands. Gold and silver used to flow into our coffers in exchange for our goods. Our exports were then very large, while imports were very small. Naturally, India of those days had become the home of gold and silver. In my view, the restoration of this Temple of Somnath would not be complete on the day when a fine building would have been constructed on these foundations. It would be complete only when the temple of our prosperity—of which the Temple of Somnath was but an external symbol—has been erected. In other words, the restoration of this temple would be complete only when we raise the level of our culture to such a degree that if a modern Al Biruni sees our country, he would express himself about our culture in the same eloquent terms in which, a thousand years ago, Al Biruni had expressed himself about the India of his day.

This work of restoration had been started by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. He played a prominent part in weaving the scattered parts of India into a common whole. An idea had occurred to him that this symbol of the ancient faith of India should be restored to commemorate the restoration of Indian unity. By the grace of God, this dream of Sardar has been fulfilled to a certain extent. But, it would have been realised fully only on the day when prosperity is restored to our people.

THE NAVY IN ANCIENT INDIA

It is with great pleasure, and let me add with pride in the Indian Navy, that I present the President's Colour to you today. Bombay is intimately connected with the maritime and naval history of our country. It is our main naval base and it is only fitting that this ceremony which, as Admiral Parry has just said, marks the beginning of a new era in the history of the Indian Navy, should be performed here.

On this occasion, I would like to remind you of the great responsibilities which history has placed on your shoulders. You belong to a country which was, for more than two thousand years, the mistress of the seas. A complete history of the maritime achievements of our people during that period of glory, has yet to be written. But even from what has already been published, it is clear that the origins of our maritime power go as far back as the Vedic age, if not earlier. The *Rig Veda* contains *mantras* which show that, even at that distant period, our countrymen were using ships with a hundred oars to sail the wide seas. By the seventh century before Christ, our ships used to go in their hundreds from our ancient maritime centres which are not far from here—I mean Bharu Kutch and Suraparakh—to Babul, on the one side, and Singhal and Swarnabhoomi, on the other. There are instances, mentioned in *Mahavamsa* and *Raj Valliya*, of as many as seven hundred traders being carried in a single ship. Our maritime fleet continued to be the premier one in the whole world till very recent times and its glory has been recorded in many a place. Marco Polo, the famous Italian traveller of the Middle Ages, saw Indian ships that carried ten small boats on their sides, like the modern life boats, with fall and tackle to lower them into the water or to haul them up over the sides, with 60 cabins below the main deck for berthed passengers, and with as many as 14 water-tight compartments separated by stored bulkheads. The Indian ships were the biggest and the stoutest in those days and were reputed for their performance and durability. Naturally, our country had also developed a strong navy at a very early period of her history. As early as the third century B.C., we read of a special naval board under the Imperial Mauryas which was especially responsible for looking after the navy of the empire. Considering that India was the premier maritime nation at that time, it can be safely surmised that the Imperial Navy of the Mauryas must have been a big and powerful navy able to provide

Speech delivered on the occasion of the Presentation of Colours to the Indian Navy at Bombay, on May 27, 1951.

adequate protection to Indian merchants on the high seas. Even after the fall of the Mauryan Empire, the glory of the naval power of India did not decrease. We find that the Satvahanas and the Cholas had mighty navies with which they were able to colonise the Swarna Dwipa and to build a mighty maritime State. This naval glory continued even into the medieval period of our history so much so that India was regarded, in the words of Digby, as the 'Mistress of the Eastern Sea'. Writing in 1811, a Frenchman named F. Baltazar Solvyns remarked in his *Les Hindoues* that 'in ancient times the Indians excelled in the art of constructing vessels and the present Hindus can in this respect still offer models to Europe'. I may add that even the premier naval State of the Western world did not hesitate to 'borrow from the Hindus many improvements to their own shipping'. Thus, even though the Indian navy in its present form may be of recent origin, it has a naval tradition dating back almost to the origins of organised political existence—a tradition which it is the duty of every one of you not only to be fully familiar with, but also to be proud of.

It is not only the ancient past that makes this claim upon you. Even the recent past expects the same of you. Till not so long ago, you were closely associated with the navy of the country which had been the mistress of the seas for the last few centuries. You have had the privilege of receiving training under distinguished captains in that navy. You have also had the good fortune of gaining battle experience in close association with it. You have derived inspiration from the exploits and achievements of the galaxy of its great sea captains. No doubt you are today completely independent and have now to shape your future in response to the logic of circumstances in our free country and in conformity with the interests and ideals of our people and also in harmony with the history and genius of our race. But I am confident that the memory of the association with that great and glorious navy shall ever fill your hearts and inspire you with the resolve to make the Indian Navy great and glorious.

Devotion to ideals and duty would be expected of you at all times, but at the present day, when humanity is standing on the edge of a dangerous precipice, it is all the more necessary that you should be inspired by the ideal of endless devotion to duty. It is of the utmost importance that you should stand steadfastly as the ever-vigilant sentinels of the peace and freedom of this ancient land. We in this country are, and have since immemorial ages been, passionately devoted to peace. Even in the days of our greatest naval glory, we never sought to enslave and exploit other countries and peoples. True to this ancient tradition

of our land, we desire all people to be free to develop their internal economy and to promote their national culture according to their own genius. We ardently desire that peace should reign everywhere so that man may devote himself to creative pursuits. It is this tradition of peace and justice that you have to cultivate and maintain. I am quite confident that your splendid training and traditions eminently fit you for the task that lies ahead of you.

The carrying of Colours by the Fighting Services is not a new thing. In fact, from the earliest times Colours have been the most cherished possession of any organised fighting unit, and it has always been a point of honour with them that it should never be surrendered to, or captured by the enemy. The deeds of heroism which have been performed to prevent this from happening are now legends. Today, as ever before, I know that every sailor in our Navy considers it a point of honour and his sacred duty never to permit the flag, under which he serves, to be disgraced in any way.

The Indian White Ensign, flown by our Naval ships, is not normally paraded ashore. I think it is only proper, however, that when ashore, our sailors should be able to carry with pride a flag similar to the one under which they serve, with such distinction, at sea. It is for this purpose therefore that I am today presenting the President's Colour. The Indian Navy has carried the Colours of the Head of the State with great credit since 1935. I am confident in leaving this Colour in your keeping that you will maintain its dignity and build even greater traditions of bravery around it.

ONWARDS WE MARCH

Four years ago, Freedom had laid on us her glorious mission—the mission of banishing from our land, all vestiges of poverty and ignorance, social inequality and tensions, injustice and exploitation. Even in normal circumstances it would have been a difficult and daring task, but it was much more so due to the conditions existing at that time in the world and in our country. The last global war had dealt such a heavy blow to the industry and agriculture of the old world that the cessation of hostilities found it incapable of even feeding and clothing its teeming billions. Everywhere in the Eurasian continent there was economic scarcity and political instability. Even the resources of the new world—of the Western Hemisphere with the great U.S.A.—were not sufficient, just after the war, to fill the industrial and agricultural void caused in the economy of the old world by that gigantic conflict; we also did not and could not remain unaffected by this post-war misery. While that by itself would have been quite great, it became still greater due to the violent aftermath of the partition of this country. Even though the product of an agreement, it engendered such violent passions that millions upon millions of men and women were forcibly uprooted from their ancestral homes. This forced migration of hordes of men caused not only indescribable misery to countless innocent human beings, but also put almost an unbearable strain on the finances of the Government and the emotions of our people. Besides, it led to the sundering of the economic bonds and the unsettling of the economic balance between agriculture and industry in this ancient land. This violent and sudden economic dislocation deepened still more the crisis of commodities through which we of this land along with other nations and peoples of the Eurasian continent had been passing. But, even though the path was dark and difficult, we undertook this journey towards our goal with faith and determination.

Ever since that day, we have been incessantly striving to overcome all the difficulties astride our path. But, the conspiracy of Nature with History has been creating fresh difficulties for us at every step. History, as I have already said, had made our task quite heart-breaking. Nature also struck us many an unkind blow soon after. Draughts, floods, earthquake—all afflicted us in turns. Even the economy of a country, industrially and financially far better equipped than ours would have

suffered terribly under these blows. But to us, who had commenced our journey only with a meagre equipment, they have proved much more difficult to face and overcome. Is there, then, any reason to feel surprised or shocked if the progress we have made during the last four years has been slow and tardy? Again, is there any reason to feel shocked if we have been plagued by all sorts of shortages and scarcity? Need any one complain if in this stormy weather the ship is not sailing as smoothly as many of us would like it to do?

The darkness has not yet been dispelled and the clouds have not yet rolled away. Even now there are threatening and heavy clouds on the borders of our country. I know not what they portend, but it is my fervent hope that they will melt away without bursting into a devastating downpour. We are doing all in our power to see that they do melt away and we hope we shall succeed. But, if a downpour does come, I am confident we shall be able to meet it with courage and calmness, firmness and determination.

The economic front too does not present a bright picture. Our people have to put up with great economic difficulties. Prices continue to be abnormally high and shortages in food and other necessities of life continue to worry us. We are determined to face and overcome these difficulties. Some progress has been made in the multi-purpose projects we have taken in hand to harness Nature in our country. If nothing untoward happens and these great plans are completed, we would have become free from the endemic evils of floods and draughts. These projects would bring water to parched lands and power to industries, light to the dark cottages and prosperity to the people of our country and the natural handicaps from which our agriculture suffers would have been removed. Nor have we been sitting idle in the matter of removing other clogs in our agriculture, the mainstay of our economy. In almost the whole country, a powerful attempt is being made to put agrarian relations on a new footing by abolishing intermediaries between the State and the actual tiller of the soil. The State is also interesting itself in some of the basic industries leaving aside a large sector for development by private enterprise.

Indeed, our industrial production has begun making recovery. There is every hope that the sugar and cloth production is going to increase greatly and soon these basic commodities would become available in larger and larger quantities. In the sphere of trade and finance also, there has been great improvement. The foreign trade balance is now in our favour.

On the political front, we had inherited grave and complex problems. Soon after our freedom, it appeared as if law and order was in serious danger due to the communal frenzy released in this sub-continent by the Partition. But, thanks to our historic traditions of tolerance and law and above all to the energetic co-operation of you all, the crisis was surmounted. Today, complete peace and order reigns throughout the vast length and breadth of this country and every community is able freely to profess its religion and pursue its vocations. We have, also, in great measure filled the gap in our administrative services which had been caused by the sudden withdrawal of many officers after the Partition. Similarly, we have had appreciable success in the rehabilitation of displaced persons from across our borders and it can be hoped that the problem, as it is today, would soon be solved, if fresh complications do not arise and the responsibility of rehabilitating another large band of displaced persons is not thrown on our shoulders.

Another outstanding achievement has been the completion of the process of the peaceful integration and standardisation of the political forms and functions of all our constituent units. Throughout the length and breadth of the country, democracy will now reign supreme. In vast regions, in which, till a few years ago, the people had not the least voice in the affairs of the government, the people are now, despite many practical drawbacks and deficiencies, constitutionally the sovereign masters. What is more important, democracy has now come to stay for good in these regions also. Notwithstanding all superficial differences, the integrated States are now becoming stable and strong units and it can be confidently hoped that very soon they would march shoulder to shoulder with the other constituent States of our Republic.

Much more important than the integration and the standardisation of the constituent States of the Republic is the great democratic election which is going to be held within a few months from now. It would be unparalleled in the history of the world. I am sure that it would awaken the sleeping giant of this country to the consciousness of its great power and potentiality. Need I express the hope that the adage '*vox populi vox dei*' would be remembered by you all when you cast your votes and declare your choice. You have the power of gods and let me hope you would use it like gods.

We have made our choice—and it is in conformity with the historic ideals of our country and the teachings of our Master. We stand for the dignity of the human spirit, for the reign of justice and reason and for the establishment and maintenance of peace among nations and classes. We

believe that through the pursuit of these values alone can we build the temple of prosperity and culture in our country. I would, therefore, like to assure all peoples that we desire nothing more than to be left in peace to devote ourselves to the fulfilment of this historic task. We ardently desire and hope that other nations would also devote their energies and resources to the creative purposes of human life and would co-operate with one another in the building up of a humanity which would really be, in letter and spirit, the crown of creation. On this day, I would like to send my fraternal greetings to all the peoples and the nations of the world and would assure them that the people of India would co-operate fully in the maintenance of peace, promotion of justice and the growth of prosperity in the world.

To you I give today a message of hope and cheer. Although darkness may be all around you today, but forget not that the night is always followed by dawn. With faith in God and confidence in your strength, you have to march with steady steps and clear vision—and you shall succeed. This is the call of your destiny and, heirs of great past as you are, you shall accept it and make your future still more glorious and great.

CULTURAL UNITY OF INDIA

I express my sincere gratitude for the warm welcome that has been extended to me by Your Exalted Highness, the Government and the people of this State. This spontaneous expression of joy and affection reveals that the same heart beats in the people of this State and those of the rest of India. Indeed, to me, the unity that exists between the people of this State and the men and women of all the other regions of India, however near or distant they may be, is not of yesterday. It has been there for thousands of years. In the course of centuries, ethical and cultural currents have flowed from different corners of this vast country and sent their fertilising waters to spread all over India. Just as the same stream of life-giving water supplies the sap and moisture to an innumerable variety of crops, and plants, and fruits and flowers, even so, underlying the variegated panorama of customs and costumes, language and culture, there is a common current that gives them life and stability and has given to the diverse regions and peoples of this land a unity which, though "thinner than air, is stronger than steel". This oneness of mind or spirit has, no doubt, found expression in art and architecture, literature and philosophy, social outlook and moral faith. As Your Exalted Highness has just now observed, some of the concrete examples of the artistic expression of that common spirit, are to be found in this State as well. I, indeed, consider it a privilege to go and see them, for are they not as it were a window revealing to us the great heights of achievement to which our people could rise when inspired by the consciousness of a common purpose and creative endeavour? The spirit of India reigns and dwells here, as much as it does in the snow-clad Himalayas or the ocean-washed Kanya Kumari.

I am quite confident that, inspired by this ideal of collective and creative endeavour, Your Exalted Highness and the Government and people of Hyderabad will continue to strive for the fulfilment of the mission which history and freedom have prescribed for us.

It really gives me satisfaction to learn that the State has been forging ahead in this direction and has introduced necessary reforms and has succeeded in the establishment of law and order in the State. But none of us can afford to relax for a moment. If Sardar Patel, to whose great statesmanship Your Exalted Highness has justly paid a tribute, had been

Reply to the speech of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad at the banquet in the Jubilee Hall, Hyderabad, on August 30, 1951.

with us today, we could have been a little care-free, for we could then have entrusted the task of steering the ship of the State to that matchless and dauntless pilot. The best tribute that we can pay him is to carry to fruition the mission of that great architect of Indian unity. His solicitude for the welfare of the people of this State is well-known to you. A word of praise is due for this achievement to the Honourable Chief Minister, Shri M. K. Vellodi and his honourable colleagues, and to His Exalted Highness for extending his co-operation to them.

We have the great task not only of consolidating the federal unity of India, but also of establishing democracy in every constituent State. Within a few months from now, as Your Exalted Highness has observed, the general elections will make a visible and tangible assertion of the will of a sovereign people. I have complete faith in our people and their spirit of tolerance, fairplay and justice. I, therefore, believe that the general elections will usher in an era of stability and progress.

In so far as the Union Government is concerned, it will continue to discharge its constitutional obligations towards every one of the constituent States of our Republic, and I can assure Your Exalted Highness that it would do all that it can, under the Constitution of India, to assist the people of Hyderabad and their Government to forge ahead in all walks of life.

Before I conclude, I should like to thank Your Exalted Highness for the kind sentiments you have expressed about me. It has been my privilege to have the affection of my fellow-citizens in this land. Indeed, it is the consciousness of their love and esteem that gives me the strength to bear the responsibilities they have placed upon me. Need I assure Your Exalted Highness that the pleasant memories of this visit would always be with me?

THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM

I thank you for the honour that you have done me today and I shall always value it highly, coming as it does from this University, which was not only the first to make one of our spoken languages the medium of instruction, but which had also done pioneering work in getting text-books in that language on all scientific and non-scientific subjects prepared and published. In its own way and within the limitations of the language chosen as the medium of instruction, that work appeared to me to be quite encouraging as I was and have always been keenly interested in this question ever since I began taking active part in public affairs. I am glad to say that today public consciousness has been thoroughly aroused on this subject and it is generally recognised by the intelligentsia and the educationists that, if there is to be no avoidable and unnecessary waste in our educational effort, it is absolutely necessary that education should be imparted in the indigenous tongues. But with all this there is yet some haziness among certain sections of the people about the language policy best calculated to serve the objectives we have in view.

I would like, with your permission, to say a few words about it. I believe that everyone in this country knows—in any case I would like everybody to know—that under the Constitution that the Sovereign People of India have adopted through their Constituent Assembly, it is our duty to establish a democratic society in this country—a society in which every individual and every group would have the fullest possible rights and opportunities to realise all his, her or its potentialities. They would also have equal opportunities with others to shape the policy of the Government in the States and the Union. While thinking of the policy to be adopted with regard to the medium of instruction we must all keep in our mind this mandatory obligation. I need not say that education is a power by itself and that in any case a person bereft of it cannot have any chance of either realising himself to the full or making any effective or worthwhile impression on the policies and actions of the government of his country and region. It is, therefore, plain that the methods and means of education should be such as do not permit any discrimination between one man and another and between one group and another.

Speech at the Special Convocation of the Osmania University, Hyderabad (Deccan), on August 30, 1951.

It would thus appear that all kinds of education, primary, secondary and university, should be available in its own tongue, to every linguistic group of any appreciable size. It is only then that it would not have to spend more time, money and energy than any other group for acquiring the benefits of education. Any other course of action would put one group at a disadvantage in comparison to the group in whose language its children have to acquire education. This means that education at all stages must be in the language of the region concerned.

I would like to emphasize, however, that this can be feasible only if the linguistic group is of an appreciable size and forms a compact region. It cannot be reasonably demanded by those who are very small in numbers or are scattered in different parts of other linguistic regions. The governments of those linguistic regions must make arrangements for the imparting of education to their children in their own mother-tongue except in the lowest stages. The financial and other implications of accepting such a demand can be easily perceived. In every well-defined linguistic region of India, small numbers of persons speaking other languages are to be found. If separate arrangements have to be made in each school, in each college, and in each university of that region for the teaching of the children of all these different linguistic groups, the cost would be colossal. Moreover, from the political point of view, it is desirable that such scattered remnants of any linguistic group, in any other linguistic region, should identify themselves with the latter group instead of remaining entirely distinct from the latter and thus keeping up a difference which may bring about ill-feeling and misunderstanding between them and the large bulk of the population around them. Much of the complexity of the language question in this country would have been solved if each linguistic group recognised this cold logic of facts—financial and political.

Each regional language has to be developed and its literature enriched so as to enable it to become a fit vehicle and rich store-house of knowledge of all kinds—ancient and modern. It is the duty of the regional government or governments to help and encourage this development. This can be best done by building upon the foundation of the existing form and vocabulary of the language and by embellishing it with whatever can be naturally and easily adopted and adapted from other sister languages. Any puristic attempt to exclude words, idioms, and even grammatical construction on the ground that they were borrowed and did not originally belong to the source from which the language was derived, is bound not only to fail but to result in impoverishing the language instead of enriching it. Besides, we have to

conserve our energy to the utmost for devoting it to the urgent task of abolishing poverty and ignorance from our country and can hardly spare any for a wholly unnecessary, if not mischievous purpose like this. I do not see any justification for linguistic purism, for language after all, is but a medium of communication and if a word symbol is well-understood by the people there is no reason why it should be thrown out on the simple ground of its alien origin. Also, the growth of the language should be in a direction in which it becomes more and more acceptable and intelligible to the vast masses of the linguistic region concerned. Its themes, its style, its vocabulary should be as near as possible to the life and the tongue of the common people. I believe that language, like other institutions of society, would benefit greatly by going to the bosom of the Demos.

Apart from the urgent need of developing and enriching the regional language, there is another question which also demands careful consideration. Ours is a multi-lingual country. We must have a common language that would enable the different linguistic regions to communicate with one another in matters of inter-regional and national life. After full consideration, the Constituent Assembly provided in the Constitution that this language shall be Hindi in the Devanagri script, the form of numerals for official purposes of the Union being the international form of Indian numerals. It was an unanimous agreement and one arrived at after due accommodation of all the relevant interest. I think that there is no reason whatever why anyone in this country should feel that his or his group's interests would be adversely affected by this decision in any way. I do not think that I need say more than that within the educational system of each linguistic region, there should be arrangement for the teaching of the Union language. It is necessary to emphasise this so that those speaking other languages than Hindi may not find themselves at a disadvantage in any respect whatsoever. How and at what stage, instruction in Hindi can be fitted in with the general scheme of education in non-Hindi regions, has to be worked out without delay and steps taken to implement any plan that may be adopted so that, within the time allowed by the Constitution, we may be able to do without the English language for official purposes of the Union. This State has three languages spoken by the people in regions which are more or less marked. It had been making every earnest efforts to develop Urdu, which I consider to be only another style or form of what has been adopted by our Constitution as the language of the Union, though it has its own script and distinctive vocabulary. It has thus the same problem that our multi-lingual country as a whole has to solve. But,

this State has had the advantage of having made headway with a language for public purposes which is distinct from the three regional languages. We should conserve and derive what benefit and lessons we can from the experience so gained and I feel that, it may prove of great value as giving us a foundation on which to build. It is the duty and privilege of this University to erect on that foundation an edifice which will redound to its credit and to the great benefit of our land.

I thank you once again for your courtesy and kindness in conferring on me the honorary degree and I wish this University ever increasing success and prosperity.

THE OLD BONDS

I welcome you not only as representatives of a great nation who have come to India on a cultural mission, but also as members of a young University established in this old city of Delhi. I am naturally reminded of the days when, nearly two thousand years ago, not one, but a large number of speakers and propagators of truth defied distance, inhospitable mountains and deserts and went to far off countries, carrying not the sword of destruction, but the torch of knowledge and culture. India has the highest mountain ranges in the world which form one of its sides. On all the other three sides, it is surrounded by the mighty ocean. But, neither the high snow-clad mountains nor the stormy seas could deter these people who were bent upon visiting distant lands to carry the message of Lord Buddha. Thus, three land routes were established in the course of time—one, through the north-west of India through Afghanistan, Central Asia and what is now Sinkiang, right into China; another, straight across the Himalayas through Tibet; and the third, through the north-east corner of India and Burma. Besides these, there was the sea route round the Malayan peninsula. Hundreds of preachers and missionaries who went from different parts of India were welcomed and absorbed in the life of China, where they spent many years translating into Chinese, the treasures of Sanskrit and Buddhist lore. But, it was not a one-way traffic. Many pilgrims from China came either through the western route or the eastern route to India, where they lived for many years. They have left accounts of their travels and of the places they visited and these are a most authentic source of history for a period which is otherwise largely enveloped in darkness. This intercourse between two countries continued for a thousand years or more and I am not aware of a single instance in which either one country or the other thought of sending its armies, rather than its missionaries and pilgrims, to the other. It was, as has been very well said, not a political or imperialistic victory which either country wanted, but a *Dharma Vijay*. This exchange almost came to a stop nearly 800 or 900 years ago and, even during the recent past, when travel has become very much easier, there has been little contact between the two countries. It is, therefore, a matter of congratulation for both that this contact is being re-established and it is a happy augury that this time it has started with a visit from you to India. I have no doubt that there is much we can give to each

Address on the occasion of the Special Convocation of the Delhi University held to confer the degree of Doctor of Letters, *honoris causa* on the leader and one member of the Chinese Cultural Delegation, on November 3, 1951.

other, but there is one thing that you can give us in abundance. Hundreds and thousands of Sanskrit works, which are lost in India, can still be had in Chinese or Tibetan translations and I have no doubt that a study of these will reveal much that is at present obscure. A great deal of work remains to be done in this direction. The recent discoveries of caves, paintings and even books open up a vast field for all who are interested in research and I have no doubt that, as time passes, scholars will devote their time to this most fascinating study.

It is not only for unravelling the mysteries of the past or lighting its dark corners that I want this study to be pursued. It is of great value in the modern world where it seems that the only relationship that is supposed to subsist between one nation and another is regarded as inevitably based on force and the bonds which are supposed to bind one nation to another are bonds of steel. We have once again to revive and to proclaim the value, stability and greater durability of those bonds which bound India and China and other countries for more than a millennium and which have left their indelible mark on the life of the people. I, therefore, attach great value to a mission like yours, and am confidently looking forward to the time when cultural exchanges between China and India will become as fruitful as they were in the past, and will pave the way for the re-establishment of a reign of peace which the world needs more than anything else at present. I trust you will accept the degree which the University is offering you *honoris causa*, as a token of that hope.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE JUDICIARY

I thank you for the honour conferred upon me by asking me to unveil the portrait of Mahatma Gandhi this morning. As you have pointed out, it has been the great good fortune of some of us to have been associated with Gandhiji in his great work and we are now reaping to some extent the benefits of this *Tapasya* which he underwent during the greater part of his life.

In this House of Justice, we all come with a sense of reverence because we know that in the presence of Judges, all are equal. You have rightly pointed out that we have a legal system based on the judiciary of England. If I may say so, we need some changes which undoubtedly will come in course of time. At the present moment, everything in this country is more or less in the melting pot. There are old things which are disappearing and which are bound to disappear. There are many new things to come, the shape of which we do not yet see. The judicial system also needs changes. There are certain things which are apparent to casual observers and which have to be changed at once. The field of litigation is going to be narrowed considerably on account of social and political changes which are taking place. In the State as also in the neighbouring States of Bihar and Bengal, the Permanent Settlement and the Zamindari system had contributed very largely to the volume of litigation and there were big and famous suits which went up even to the Privy Council. They also created a great deal of litigation as between the land-holder and the tenant. With the great changes which are going to be made, such lengthy and big cases would not be seen hereafter. Probably, there would not be much litigation between the Zamindars. Perhaps, we may not see as many suits between the land-holder and the tenant as in the past. At the same time, new avenues of litigation are being opened with the industrial and commercial development involving labour disputes, commercial cases and disputes relating to industrial concerns which are bound to arise. I think, more and more attention of the courts will have to be devoted to them. More than all this, we have before us our Constitution, in which Judges have to decide disputes not only between one citizen and another or between a citizen and a State, but also between a State and a State, the States and the Centre and between the Government and the Legislature. A great field is now opened up before the courts. A big crop of cases which are coming up

Speech delivered while unveiling the portrait of Mahatma Gandhi in the Orissa High Court at Cuttack, on November 18, 1951.

almost daily in all the High Courts are for the interpretation of certain Articles of the Constitution. I hope the High Courts, the Supreme Court and other courts will rise equal to the occasion and do justice to all such cases. It is a great privilege conferred on the courts and, if I may say so, with the great privilege has devolved on them a great responsibility of deciding cases not only with knowledge, integrity and intelligence, but also with a certain sense of responsibility. While on the one hand, they have to maintain the liberty of the individual, they cannot ignore the safety and security of the State and the authority of the society and the social system. The best thing for Legislatures and for those who have to carry on the administration is to adopt the middle course. But, for the courts there is no right, left or even the middle course. The courts can follow only one course and that is the course of justice, impartiality and honesty. In adopting that course, they have always to be careful so that in safeguarding the liberty of the individual they do not endanger the security of the State and in safeguarding the security of the State, they do not jeopardise the liberty of the citizen. This is a matter for the consideration of the Judges when such cases come up for decision.

I hope, the litigation relating to interpretation of the Constitution will, to some extent dwindle down after some time. When the complicated articles of the Constitution have been subjected to judicial scrutiny, probably there will be less room left for litigation. In the meantime, we have to build up a great tradition not only for the Bench but also for the Bar. The Bar's responsibility will grow more and more and it will become important because it will be the only recruiting ground for the Bench. You have to do your duty and also to see that the Bar rises in stature and fulfils the function which is expected of it without fear or favour. This is required not only from the Judges but also from the members of the Bar. If both go hand in hand, we shall have a strong and good judicial system. You cannot and should not forget what underlies litigation and try to do justice without fear or favour. When I think of Mahatma Gandhi and his views on the subject, I feel it was a certain kind of demoralisation and weakness in the Bar which he protested against. Of the Bar and its function, people often think that it is to place only one side of the case before the Judges. They are not aware that the Bar has a duty which is in no way less sublime than that of the Judges. The Bar should place the cases of their respective sides before the Bench, but they should not consider that their business is only to see that they win the case.

As you have said, the law of procedure in this country requires consideration. When I say a word about law, I speak with great hesitation. for, in the legal sense, I am a time-barred lawyer being out of touch with the law for many years. But, I can say that many rules of evidence require change. We have derived many rules of evidence from England. The English law of evidence is a highly artificial system and, in this country, attempts have been made by Legislatures to do away with some of that artificiality. I do not however know how far they have succeeded in this. There are certain rules which are really of no use to this country and therefore not only the courts but also the Legislatures have to see to it that the laws are amended and brought in conformity with the real life. I think that can be done. In this work, we shall have to take the assistance of the lawyers, of Judges and jurists and above all, the assistance of the common man. We know that the truth about a case is not spoken out. Sometimes, the truth about a case is supported by untruth. I remember incidents when a witness speaking before a Panchayat said that he must speak the truth because he was speaking before a Panchayat and not before a court. That is certainly a matter for consideration. It is because of the artificiality in the procedure and certain rules that even good cases have to be supported by false evidence. We should make it possible to win a good case with truth alone. That is what the courts have to do and what the judicial system has to achieve. I remember a case in the Patna High Court in which I said to a Judge, "My Lord, justice of the case requires, etc." The Judge retorted, "Judges are not here to do justice but to decide cases according to the evidence on record". That was a rather startling thing. What Mahatma Gandhi would have liked us to evolve, is a procedure which will eliminate this difficulty. We have to build up the character of men whether lawyers or Judges, litigants or witnesses.

NALANDA—ANCIENT SEAT OF LEARNING

We have gathered here in Nalanda, the renowned ancient University town, with the noble aim of reviving the ancient glory of Nalanda in the world of knowledge. It is with this object in view that the Government of this State has decided to establish the Magadh Research Institute for the study of Pali and Prakrit and research in Buddhist literature and philosophy. Nalanda is the symbol of the most glorious period of our history, for not only did the quest for knowledge blossom here into its finest shape but also because it bound together, at that time, the various different parts of Asia with links of knowledge. There are no national and racial distinctions in the realm of knowledge and this was true of Nalanda. The message of Nalanda was heard across the mountains and oceans of the Asian mainland and, for nearly six centuries, it continued to be the centre of Asian consciousness. The history of Nalanda dates back to the age of Lord Buddha and Lord Mahavira. According to Jain records, Lord Mahavira met Acharya Mankhila at Nalanda. Lord Mahavira is said to have lived here for fourteen years. According to the *Sutra-Kritanga*, Lepa, a rich citizen of Nalanda, welcomed Lord Buddha with his entire wealth and possessions and became his disciple. According to Lama Taranath, the learned historian of Tibet, Nalanda was the birthplace of Sariputra, whose "samadhi" survived till the reign of Emperor Asoka who enlarged it by installing a temple around it. Though tradition associates Nalanda with Lord Buddha and Emperor Asoka, yet it emerged as a flourishing university some time in the Gupta Age. Taranath maintains that both Bhikshu Nagarjun and Arya Deva were associated with Nalanda University and says further that Acharya Dingnag visited Nalanda and had a scholarly discussion. In the fourth century A.D., Fa-Hien, a Chinese pilgrim visited Nalanda and the stupa constructed at the spot where Sariputra took birth and died. But, it was not until much later that Nalanda acquired its outstanding position. In the 7th century A.D. when, during the reign of Emperor Harshavardhan, Huan-Tsang came to India, Nalanda was at the height of its glory. Referring to a *Jataka* story Huan-Tsang writes that it derived its name from *Na-alam-Da*, the peace of mind which Lord Buddha failed to achieve in his previous births. However, the gift of knowledge is, by its very nature, so inexhaustible that neither the giver nor the recipient can ever feel totally satisfied. The gift of money, no doubt, has its limits, but knowledge is free of any limits, and even one solitary individual can.

Speech delivered at Nalanda, on November 20, 1951.

by his sole effort, flood the whole earth by the light of his attainment. The urge, imperceptibly bound with the name of Nalanda, was not valid only for the past, but should also continue to inspire in future the newly established Magadh Research Institute. We should resolve to pursue truth and present the results of our research to humanity, with an open mind.

Nalanda University was born with the help of liberal public charity and donations. It is believed to have been founded originally with an endowment created by 500 traders who purchased land with their money and offered it to Lord Buddha as a gift. By the time of Huan-Tsang's visit, Nalanda had become a full-fledged university and had, at that time, six large Viharas. The 8th century inscription of Yasoverman contains a telling description of Nalanda. The high spires of the Viharas, in a row, seemed to be sky high, and around them were tanks of clear water, in which floated red and yellow lotuses, interspersed by the cool shade of the mango groves. The architecture and the sculptures of the halls containing rich ornamentation and beautiful idols, filled one with wonder. Although there are many *sangharams* in India, but the one at Nalanda is unequalled. At the time of the Chinese traveller It-Sing's visit, there were 300 big rooms and eight halls. The remains discovered by archaeological excavations fully bear out the truth of these descriptions. The teachers and students at Nalanda were made completely free of economic worries. Besides the gifts of land and buildings, the revenue of 100 villages had been set apart, in the form of a Trust, to meet recurring expenditure. This property of the Trust had increased to 200 villages by the time of It-Sing's visit. The three States of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Bengal had taken considerable part in the building and financial maintenance of Nalanda University.

Copperplates and statues of the age of Maharaja Dharmapal Deva and Devapal Deva of Bengal have been found at Nalanda in the course of the archaeological excavations. One of these copperplates sheds light on the international relations maintained by Nalanda. We learn from it that Shri Balputra Deva, the Shailendra Emperor of Swarna Dwipa (now a part of Indonesia) had sent his envoy to Devapal Deva, the ruler of Magadha, with a request that he should make a gift of five villages to Nalanda on behalf of the former. According to this copperplate inscription, Balputra, the Emperor of Java, being deeply impressed by the achievement of Nalanda, had a large Vihara constructed here to give visible expression of his devotion to Lord Buddha. This is, but, an example that has survived by sheer chance and which gives us an indelible impression of the glory which Nalanda enjoyed the world over.

Indeed, the Nalanda Mahavihariya Arya Bhikshu Sangh was held in great esteem all over Asia. Many clay seals of this Sangh have been found at Nalanda.

At the time of Huan-Tsang's visit, Nalanda had 10,000 students and 1,500 teachers. From this, it is obvious that the teachers could pay individual attention to the education and training of their students. In fact, Nalanda was, then, only a centre of higher education, similar to the institute of post-graduate research which we are now proposing to establish here. Scholars from such distant countries as China, Korea, Tibet, Turkistan and Mongolia came to Nalanda to study and collect Buddhist literature. It had the biggest library in Asia. It was from Nalanda that copies of many manuscripts, through travelling pilgrims, reached China and were translated in Chinese. In a way, Nalanda had blossomed forth as a centre of higher learning, and it was considered a mark of honour to be associated with Nalanda. The citizens ensured the preservation of many a rare volume by getting copies and keeping them here for safe custody. When, in the 12th century, its library was destroyed, many of the manuscripts had, already, found their way to Nepal and Tibet, and many of these manuscripts are still intact there.

Without any reference to one particular religion, 100 lectures were delivered, every day, at Nalanda. Both Brahmanical and Buddhist literature, philosophy, sciences and art formed part of the syllabus of Nalanda University. A majority of the monks used to study the works on *Mahayana* and the other eighteen *Nikayas* of the Buddhist faith, but there also was provision for the study and teaching of the Vedas and allied literature. The liberalism practised by the educational authorities of Nalanda was unique and the seeds of Nalanda's rise and progress lay in the academic attitude which freely exposed itself to the religion and philosophy of all mankind, without any prejudice, whatsoever.

The syllabus of Nalanda University was drawn up with great wisdom, and by following it, students were increasingly successful in their daily life. It had made a study of five subjects compulsory: Grammar, by which one could get an adequate mastery of the language; Logic, which taught the student to judge every issue rationally; Medical Science, a study of which enabled the student to keep himself, as also others, in perfect health; and, lastly, handicrafts. Knowledge of one craft or another was compulsory to make the students financially independent. Besides these four subjects, Religion and Philosophy were studied, depending on one's own special interest. The high ideal which Nalanda had set in the matter of the courses of study deserves our attention and

consideration even now. It was this well co-ordinated course of studies which made the knowledge of its students both deeply penetrating and utilitarian in its practical application. Huan-Tsang studied Law, Yoga, Phonetics and Panini's Grammar at the feet of Acharya Shila Bhadra, the Chancellor of the University and after it, for a period of five years, read through many Buddhist works, and was specially interested in the works of *Mahayana*. Similarly, It-Sing, the Chinese traveller, studied books on *Therawad* at Nalanda.

Acharya Shila Bhadra was then considered to be the greatest authority on Yoga. Before him, Dharmapal was famous as the Chancellor of Nalanda. Shila Bhadra, Gyan Chandra, Prabha Mitra, Sthiramati, Gunamati and other learned teachers were contemporaries of Huan-Tsang. Even after he had returned to China, his close contact with his Indian friends continued as before. When he was leaving Nalanda, Acharya Shila Bhadra and other monks requested him to stay on. In reply Huan-Tsang said :—"It is impossible not to have deep affection for this land—the birthplace of Lord Buddha. But my only purpose in coming to this country was to make further research into the religion of the Lord so that I may benefit my fellow brethren. My visit to this place has proved of immense benefit to me, but on my return to China, I intend to benefit others through what I have learnt here, as also to use my knowledge for purposes of translation so that other men may also have for you the same gratitude which I feel towards you."

Even after Huan-Tsang's return to China, correspondence continued between him and Gyan Prabh, the chief disciple of Acharya Shila Bhadra. Of this correspondence, three letters still exist, which reveal that even subsequently, the scholars of Nalanda continued to send copies of Sanskrit works to China. Of his return to China, Huan-Tsang spent the rest of his life in translating religious books of India into Chinese and in this, the literature from Nalanda occupied a prominent place. He has written that the Emperor of China himself wrote a preface to these translations and ordered the authorities to propagate these books in every country. The result of these worthy endeavours for which Chinese scholars and Indian scholars worked enthusiastically and unhampered by distances of place and time, was that about 2,000 books which were translated from original Sanskrit into Chinese are still intact in the Chinese *Tripit*, even though the Sanskrit originals are lost. I hope one of the objectives of the Institute we are establishing, today, would be to publish this Chinese literature in its Sanskrit form with Hindi translations. In order to have an extensive library like the Ratna

Sagar at Nalanda in Huan-Tsang's time, we would have to draw up a comprehensive plan to collect, on behalf of the Magadh Institute, all the Pali, Prakrit and Sanskrit original works, as also, works written on them in other languages; we must also resolve to implement that plan fully. This project can be completed only with the co-operation of the Government and the people.

The scholars of Nalanda carried the torch of knowledge to foreign countries. For instance, Strong Chan Campo, the Emperor of Tibet, with a view to introducing and popularising Sanskrit script and the knowledge of India in his country, sent a scholar called Thonmi Sambhot, to Nalanda, where he studied Buddhistic and Brahmanical literature under Acharya Deva Vida Sinh. After this, in the 8th century A.D., Acharya Shanti Rakshit, the Chancellor of Nalanda University, went to Tibet in response to an invitation from the Emperor. Acharya Kamal Shila, the chief authority on Tantra Vidya also visited Tibet. Nalanda scholars learnt the Tibetan language and translated Buddhist and Sanskrit works into it. Thus, they presented an entirely new literature to Tibet and gradually converted its inhabitants to Buddhism. Acharya Shanti Rakshit of Nalanda established, for the first time, in 749 A.D., a Buddhist Vihar in Tibet. It is necessary that the books available in the *Tripitak* literature of Tibet, be translated, once again, into Sanskrit. They would not only shed new light on Indian history and culture, but would also help us to form a complete picture of the contribution made by Nalanda University in the pursuit of knowledge. Further, it is also believed that Korean scholars came to study *Vinaya* and *Abhidharma* at Nalanda. It is quite possible that Korean translations of original Sanskrit works may still be extant in Korea.

Besides being famous for its studies in literature and religion, Nalanda was also a centre of fine arts and influenced the art of Nepal, Tibet, Indonesia and Central Asia. The bronze statues of Nalanda are impressive and beautiful and scholars believe that statues of Buddha found at Kurkihar bear traces of the Nalanda school. It is true that the achievement of Nalanda was born of an all inclusive pursuit of knowledge in which Religion and Philosophy, language and handicrafts had equal importance. We should aim at reviving the educational system of a bygone age and re-establish Nalanda as a centre of art, literature, philosophy, religion and science. Cultural renaissance can come about in the life of nation only when a large number of determined scholars devote a life time to a search after truth. Though the Magadh Research Institute is still very young, but, moulded to the need of the age, it can be expected to develop into the centre we wish it to be.

SANSKRIT LITERATURE—A TREASURE

Nearly ten years ago, Maharajadhiraj Shri Kameshwar Singh had invited me to address the scholars of Bihar in the Shri Mithulesh Mahesh Ramesh Lecture series. On that occasion, I had given expression to my views in two lectures which have since then, been published in book form under the title : 'Sanskrit Ka Adhyayan'. In these, I had drawn attention to the richness and glory of Sanskrit literature and had briefly surveyed its achievements in the spheres of philology, grammar, alphabet, script and numerals in general and more particularly in the spheres of Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Astronomy, Physics, Medicine and Surgery, Anatomy and Physiology, Metallurgy, Botany, Agriculture and Gardening, Sculpture, Painting, Music, Dancing, etc., etc. In my concluding remarks, I had urged the desirability and necessity of a change in the traditional system of Sanskrit studies as prevalent today. It therefore gives me great pleasure to find that this Institute is being established today for the study of that literature and scientific research into the materials available in it. I believe that the study of Sanskrit literature would be useful for the solution of the problems facing the world today and therefore, our universities should encourage its study. I had confessed in those lectures that even though I was no scholar of Sanskrit, I had come to hold this view on the basis of what I had learnt from the opinions of Sanskrit scholars as expressed in their books. These are that the basic elements of our present-day cultural life are to be found in Sanskrit literature. In this connection, I would like to say a few words today about the characteristic features of Sanskrit literature. Of course, it is not necessary to relate all this to scholars. For those, however, who are ignorant of Sanskrit and who, due to their training in the present educational system, give great weight to whatsoever western scholars and those Indian scholars following in the footsteps of the former, say on any subject, I consider it would be sufficient to give some citations from the authoritative works of such scholars. I also entertain the hope that these educated Indians would duly realise the importance of Sanskrit and would help in bringing about a Sanskritic *renaissance*.

Sanskrit literature, as I have already remarked, is an invaluable treasure-house not only for India, but also for the whole world. Its great age, its extent, its richness of content, its beauty and sweetness of language are all such as to make it not only shed light on the whole

Address on the occasion of laying the foundation stone of the Sanskrit Research Institute at Darbhanga on November 21, 1951.

history and culture of humanity but also to fill the heart of man with beauty, pleasure and joy and to give him a glimpse of the world of ideals by realising which alone can he make his life fruitful and achieve salvation from the bonds of this world.

It is no exaggeration to say that the history of the cultural evolution of mankind cannot be prepared without the help of Sanskrit literature. There is no other nation in the world which has been able to keep its ancient literature intact as we Indians have been able to do. The very works of the Rishis have come down to us in their entirety and we can see in them a clear picture of the conditions of that age. That picture, no doubt, is very helpful in reconstructing our ancient history today and, I am sure, it will continue to remain useful even in the future.

There is no single scholar in the present-day world who does not believe that in the reconstruction of the ancient history of mankind, Indian literature will play an important role. This is not only due to the fact that Indian literature is the oldest in the world, but also because there was not a single country in the civilised world of antiquity in which its influence had not been felt. Indian literature left its impress on the cultures of countries from China to Ireland, from Scandinavia to Indonesia. It is universally known that more than a thousand years ago, numerous works of Sanskrit had been translated into Chinese and Tibetan and thereafter into Japanese and that Indian literature had become an indistinguishable element of Chinese, Tibetan and Japanese culture. In the islands of Bali, Java, Sumatra and in Cambodia also, Indian literature had an unchallenged sway and it was the main basis of the culture of those countries. What is not so widely known, perhaps, is that the influence of Indian literature was felt in the Middle East and Europe too. Of course, there is not the least doubt about the fact that numerous scholars from India went to the capital of the Abbasi Caliphs and made the people conversant with Indian science and culture; also, that they translated some works of Indian literature into the official language of that Empire. There are enough references to indicate that Indian literature had a deep influence on the ancient culture of the Middle East and Europe and, in so far as their fables and folk tales are concerned, it may be said without any exaggeration that it is more or less another form of the same kind of literature in India. Indian literature, by virtue of its having woven itself into the consciousness of all the nations of the civilised world, has become an indistinguishable element of their culture. And so, for its proper understanding, it is necessary that the original Sanskrit literature should be studied. Referring to this

Dr. M. Winternitz, in his "History of Indian Literature" written in German says, "All these facts—the great age, the wide geographical distribution, the extent, the wealth, the aesthetic value and still more the value from the point of view of the history of culture, of Indian literature—would fully suffice to justify our interest in this great, original and ancient literature." He observes further on: "though the Indians are not flesh of our flesh, or bone of our bone we may yet discover mind of our mind in the world of Indian thought...". "If we wish to learn to understand the beginnings of our own culture, if we wish to understand the oldest Indo-European culture, we must go to India, where the oldest literature of an Indo-European people is preserved." Still further on, he says, 'Moreover, the immediate influence which the literature of India has exercised over our own literature, too, should not be underestimated. We shall see that the narrative literature of Europe is dependent on the Indian fable literature in no small degree. It is more specially German literature and German philosophy which, since the beginning of the 19th century, have been greatly influenced by Indian ideas, and it is quite probable that this influence is still on the increase, and that it will be augmented still further in the course of the present century'. This statement of Winternitz, even today, has the same, nay, even greater force than what it had when it was first made. When he had made this observation, the archaeological remains at Mohenjodaro had not been studied. But since the day of their discovery, the age of Indian civilisation has been carried still further into the past and, in my view, the importance of Indian literature—specially the importance of Vedic literature, for the history of our ancient culture has increased still more. Of course, it is needless to point out that for an adequate understanding of the mind of our people and of the forces working on it, the importance of a proper study of Sanskrit literature is very great. There is no single aspect of our national life which is not suffused by the principles and ideals laid down in Sanskrit literature. Not only for understanding the character of human civilisation, not only for understanding the part played by our people in its evolution and for having a clear understanding of our national mind, but also for deriving joy from the appreciation of the highest and best form of art, it is necessary for us and for the world to devote itself to the study of Sanskrit literature. There is no aspect of life, no medium of expression, no form of art in which Sanskrit literature has not achieved perfection. The King and the beggar, the man of the city as of the village, human beings, birds or animals, civilised and uncivilised beings, conscious beings and unconscious elements, soul and God—each and every one of them has been

depicted with a delicate touch in Sanskrit literature. There is not a single region of the human heart which has remained hidden to the eye of the Sanskrit poets; not the deepest feelings but have been given the most artistic expression; not a single aspect of nature which is not mirrored there; no single branch or aspect of society which has not been carefully analysed in it and no ideal, passion or evil within its bosom whose exact picture is not to be found here; nor is there any problem relating to the destiny of mankind and concerned with man's happiness and welfare which has not been carefully discussed and answered in Sanskrit literature. Such a fine description of animal life and analysis of its importance to man and such sympathy for the animal world as is found in Sanskrit literature are rarely to be found in the literatures of any other people in the world. If Sanskrit literature is for the learned and grown-up, it is also full of interesting material for people of common intelligence and children. There are such fine descriptions of the marvellous world of Gandharvas, Yakshas, Asuras and Nishachars and of their miraculous powers and thrilling deeds that children, who are easily thrilled by miracles and marvels, find in them inexhaustible material for the satisfaction of their curiosity.

There are aphorisms so full of wisdom as to imprint themselves on the human mind, by hearing and remembering which even ordinary men can become wise. There are such stories in Sanskrit literature, by hearing which even the ignorant can become learned. From the point of view of art, it is highly developed and can be rarely paralleled elsewhere. If the saying that the ocean can be confined in a jar has been realised anywhere, it is in Sanskrit literature. In no other literature is found such perfection in sound-echoing signs as is found in Sanskrit. If one wants to see the subtleness of ideas, mirror-like delineation of character, he can hardly find it elsewhere in such perfection as in Sanskrit.

It can be said that Sanskrit literature is one of the few literatures in which there is such a fine arrangement and use of words. It is no doubt true that Western scholars feel that from the literary point of view these aspects of Sanskrit literature are not very commendable and they even condemn the prolixity of the figures of speech as also the aphoristic character of the Sūtras. But one should not forget that their fundamental approach to art is different from ours and that their approach is more or less conditioned by the mechanised civilisation of modern times. So it is quite natural that they do not find much pleasure in these wonderful experiments in word construction, but if one views the whole question without prejudice, it may be said that it is only the

study of Sanskrit literature that can give an idea of the great magic there is in words.

Our literature is not only unique in making an amazing use of the Sanskrit language but there is also no literary form in which it has not reached perfection. Prose, Poetry, Drama—in all of them Sanskrit writers have achieved greatness. As Winternitz observes, "Indian literature embraces everything which the world literature comprises in its widest sense : religious and secular, epic, lyric, dramatic and didactic poetry, as well as narrative and scientific prose." Even before the beginning of the Christian era, great works of literature had been composed in our country. It is true that, so far, the chronology of Sanskrit literature has not been settled on a satisfactory and final basis. But, even then, it is universally admitted that within the period 1500 B.C. and 1000 A.D., Sanskrit literature has been enriched by numerous literary jewels and out of these many unique works had been composed even before the commencement of the Christian era. Books such as the Upanishads in the sphere of metaphysics, such great works as the Ramayana and the Mahabharata in the sphere of epic poetry and such works as those of Bhasa in the sphere of dramatic poetry had become elements of Sanskrit literature by that time.

This element of greatness in our literature is, to a certain extent, due to the inherent peculiarities of the Sanskrit language itself. Its grammar and vocabulary are of such a character that words can be used with facility and in such a suggestive manner as can rarely be done in other languages, be these ancient or modern. By virtue of its power of compression, a whole world of ideas can be put in a single Sutra. This is not possible to the same extent and will never be so in any other language of the world. Commenting on the works of Bhartrhari, Keith points out the greatness of the Sanskrit language. He says, "The extraordinary power of compression which Sanskrit possesses is seen here at its best ; the effect on the mind is that of a perfect whole in which the parts coalesce by inner necessity, and the impression thus created on the mind cannot be reproduced in an analytical speech like English, in which it is necessary to convey the same content, not in a single sentence syntactically merged into a whole, like the idea which it expresses, but in a series of loosely connected predications." Besides the power of compression, Sanskrit words often have a number of meaning and thus in Sanskrit poems such wonderful *double ententes* can be composed as cannot be done in any other language. Commenting on the poem of *Ramapala-charita* of *Sandhyakara Nandin* which the author had written with a view to delineate the character of both Rama and also Raja Rampala,

a contemporary king, Keith observes: "The fact, which at first sight appears incredible, is explained without special difficulty by the nature of Sanskrit. Treating each line of verse as a unit, it is possible to break it up very variously into words by grouping together the syllables. Then the meaning of compounds is often vitally affected by the mode in which the relations between the words composing them are conceived, even when the words are understood in the same sense and the compound is analysed into the same terms. Further, and this is of special importance, the Sanskrit lexica allow towards a very large variety of meanings." Thus, by virtue of its principles of 'Sandhi' and 'Samas' and by reason of its many words having a number of meanings, the Sanskrit language possesses such a natural flexibility as permits it to be moulded in accordance with any purpose or form that one desires. Besides this natural characteristic, Sanskrit literature grew in a geographical and racial environment which was heterogeneous and cosmopolitan in character. India is a vast country of varied climates, beautiful natural scenery, multitudinous flora and fauna, animals and birds, wherein numerous communities of different colours and customs are to be found. Naturally, therefore, it is not surprising that the literary artists of India were able to paint all this background in such fine word-pictures. "In India", says M. Williams "literature, like the whole face of nature, is on a gigantic scale. Poetry, born amid the majestic scenery of the Himalayas, and fostered in a climate which inflamed the imaginative powers, developed itself with oriental luxuriance." But, much more than the geographical and racial environment, it is the basic ideals and assumptions of life held by the Indian people which have played their part in making Sanskrit literature so fine and rich. Since remote ages, it has been the faith of the Indian people that life is not an idle dream nor a tale told by an idiot but that it is a means towards self-realisation. It is true that Indians believed and still believe that lasting happiness or power can be achieved by men only after securing release from the cycle of births and deaths or by a merging of the soul in the Brahman—this is the inherent purpose of worldly life. But, at the same time, it is their faith that the soul is bound by the law of Karma, and that through the power of good deeds, it gradually moves towards salvation and that by doing evil it becomes more and more entangled in worldly bonds. This faith led the ancient Indians to divide life into four stages and to place before themselves a four-fold ideal of life. They believe that by discharging the obligations of each stage of life and by devoting one's life to the realisation of the four-fold aim, one's soul can acquire the power of merging itself into the *Brahman*. Even if one found himself unable to practise this *Sadhana* and *Tapa* in one life,

he had no reason for despair, for he was bound to take birth after birth so long as he did not achieve salvation. So, it is clear that Indians never had the idea that life could ever—finally and ultimately—be futile and purposeless. Their belief was that every soul was destined to merge in the *Brahman* and so they never considered temporary defeat as defeat for all time to come. In other words, they were incorrigible optimists about the achievement of salvation or eternal happiness. This optimism was the main foundation of their literature. In the entire field of Sanskrit literature, we do not come across a single tragic drama ; not that the hero of a story does not have to go through suffering or that he does not face obstacles and difficulties. He has to suffer all these, but in the long run, these trials and tribulations prove the stepping stones for his complete success and happiness. The heroes in all our famous legends, such as 'Nala Damayanti', 'Harishchandra Saiva' and 'Satyavan Savitri', had to undergo much trouble, but in the long run reached the land of happiness and success. So it is that our literature, instead of being the picture of the fleeting moment, has become the embodiment of the aspirations of our people for the lasting welfare of the individual and of the world.

Our literateurs held the view that literature and art are not merely the means of enjoyment or entertainment for the writer or the reader, but a means for the realisation of the four-fold ideal of life. It has been the traditional belief in our country since ages past that by the mere reading or hearing of our main Epics, a person can achieve salvation. Defining the "Mahakavya", the writers and poets also said that its study was for the realisation of the four-fold aim, namely, *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kama* and *Moksha*. It is this very idea that echoes again and again in the different branches of Indian literature. It is for this reason that, in the long run, truth and righteousness are sure to triumph in Indian literature. I believe that, due to this basic ideal, the importance of Sanskrit literature is enhanced still further. The chief objective of a poet's work can only be to show the sublimation and transfiguration of the brute into man, for only in such a delineation lies the spiritual welfare of the poet himself as of mankind. Sanskrit literature is the embodiment of this striving of our poets and literateurs. Another special characteristic of Sanskrit literature is its delineation of the underlying unity of the entire visible universe. It seems to rest on the assumption that among animate and inanimate nature, animate birds and animals and self-conscious man lies a universal, all-embracing single principle and so it is that in the joys and sorrows of the hero, the entire universe takes its share. I believe that it is for this reason that there are such beautiful and sympathetic portrayals of nature, animals and birds in

Sanskrit literature as are not found in any other literature of the world, not even in Greek literature. Poets have, on more than one occasion, sent the clouds to carry the message of the hero to the heroine. God and angels, nature and its elemental forces, all participate in making or marring the destiny of the hero or the heroine. The reader, the writer, the listener and the spectator—all get through Sanskrit literature a comprehensive and organic view of the universe. So far as I know, the unity between human life and the universal soul has been represented with such lucidity and clarity only in Sanskrit literature. It is due to these qualities that this literature is still able to keep its head high and to rank as first among the literatures of the world in spite of the many vicissitudes of history through which our country has had to pass.

In this connection, I would like to give one more citation and it is from Max Muller's book "India—What Can it Teach Us?" Prof. Max Muller writes: "If I were to look over the whole world to find out the country most richly endowed with all the wealth, power and beauty that nature can bestow—in some parts a very paradise on earth—I should point to India. If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life, and has found solutions of some of them which well deserve the attention even of those who have studied Plato and Kant—I should point to India. And if I were to ask myself from what literature we, here in Europe, we who have been nurtured almost exclusively on the thoughts of Greeks and Romans, and of one Semitic race, the Jewish, may draw that corrective which is most wanted in order to make our inner life more perfect, more comprehensive, more universal in fact more truly human, a life, not for this life only, but a transfigured and eternal life—again I should point to India."

I have already shown how desirable and important is the study of Sanskrit literature; our Universities should not only include it in the syllabi of its educational institutions but should also afford all possible encouragement to its study. At the same time, however, I consider it necessary to say that those who devote themselves to the study of Sanskrit should also be required to acquaint themselves compulsorily with the trends of modern life. How the world is moving on today, what its direction is, what wonders have been performed by science as a result of modern research and how deep an impression has been and would continue to be produced on our life, are matters which are not hidden from the gaze of any one. Even if one wants to be indifferent to them and turn a blind eye towards them, one cannot do so. Therefore,

Sanskrit scholars should have at least some acquaintance with, if not mastery of, these subjects. This can be easily acquired with the help of Hindi books, though the old-style Pandits look down upon Hindi with some degree of contempt. There should be Sanskrit books on modern subjects for such people, I am not aware how far this has been done or whether any scholar is taking interest in this matter, but I have learnt with great pleasure that some scholars are trying to popularise modern subjects through the medium of the Sanskrit language. In this connection, I may mention, the *Paramarth Darshan* of the late Mahamahopadhyaya Ramavatar Sharma which, I understand, is a beautiful and learned exposition of our modern and ancient philosophy. Similarly, I have seen three poetical works on the life of Mahatma Gandhi and on Gandhism. One is by Pandit Rajaswami Shri Bhagadacharya called : *Bharatiya Parijat*—the second is *Uttar Satyagraha* by Pandita Kshama Rao and the third is *Gandhi Gita* by Shri Srinivas. I also understand that a Sanskrit translation of our Constitution has already been done and arrangements are being made for its publication. These are auspicious signs and they give an indication that there are still scholars of Sanskrit who can place before the learned world the study of modern subjects in that ancient *Devavani*. I hope that alongside the study of Sanskrit, people will revive the flow of Sanskrit literature whose progress has been arrested for the last several centuries, so as to enable the later historians of that literature to record that Sanskrit was not in any way backward in comparison to any other modern language in the propagation of modern knowledge through its medium. I hope that this institution would continue to make progress by leaps and bounds and that it would fulfil the aspirations and aims with which it is being established today.

COURAGEOUS SUFFERERS

You must be glad to hear the report that has been read out and the detailed information given to you about the solution of the refugee problem. This market is indeed nice and beautiful and has been designed with an eye to cleanliness as also to the convenience and facility of buyers and shopkeepers. By associating this with the name of Kamalaji, you have added to its beauty still more. Kamalaji was one of those Indian ladies who devoted their entire life to the service of the country. All those who had any association with her are fully aware of her untiring work in the cause of the country. Even when her health had broken down, and was giving cause for anxiety to everyone, she continued to devote herself to the service of the people notwithstanding the advice of her doctors to the contrary. The inevitable result was that death snatched her away from us. I believe, our refugee brethren would continue to derive inspiration from the association of her name with their market. Such inspiration would also bring them success in their enterprise.

I am very much pleased by the progress that has been made in the rehabilitation of refugees. This satisfaction is somewhat different in character from what we usually derive merely by reading reports—as I have to do—about the progress of the work. The impression one gets after seeing the actual work done is far more deep. Four years ago, lakhs of refugees were coming or had come from the West and were living on the streets and on roadsides, on the foot-paths or in verandahs of houses. They had to pass the cold winter and the blazing summer almost under the open sky. Today, thousands of houses have been constructed for them and lakhs of persons have been resettled. The work of resettlement is progressing quite satisfactorily, not only here, but in all parts of the country. On comparison, I feel that the work that has been accomplished so far is really stupendous. It is no doubt true that the refugees' misery and trouble has been very great and whatever the Government or any other agency may do here, it cannot restore to them the conditions in which they were living or even approximately provide them all the facilities which they had before partition. I am happy that, under the circumstances, all that was possible has been done or is being done. I am aware that even now many of them are in great difficulty and that we have not been able to provide the relief which

Speech on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the Kamala Market at Ajmere Gate, Delhi, on November 29, 1951.

they think ought to have been provided to them. But, I hope, they would also keep in view the fact that they are in much better condition than those who have not been able to secure anything for themselves. As you have aptly said, no one can depend on others for ever and that one has ultimately to stand on his own feet. It is really a matter of great satisfaction to me. I would like to congratulate all those refugees who have come from the West and whom I have had occasion to see working here in this city and elsewhere that they have, with great courage, daring and enthusiasm, not only faced all the difficulties and trials, but have also found for themselves some profession or the other. While I congratulate the Ministry for having been able to make all this progress, I would also like to congratulate the refugees who have succeeded in establishing themselves, to a great extent, by their own courage and have made the best use of the little help that has been provided to them.

The problems that we had to face were of many kinds and it was no easy matter to resettle all the refugees. Of course, the most complicated and difficult problem was to find out avenues of employment for them as also to allot lands to those who were agriculturists or landlords. We considered it our obligation to make some provision for them and accordingly we were able to do something. But, the problem of those who were formerly engaged in trade and business was rather a very difficult one. There were numerous Hindus and Sikhs who had been engaged in trade in West Punjab before partition. Many of those who left this country were not of this class and there was therefore, very little scope for the absorption of the refugee businessmen in this sphere. Inevitably, the result was that while there was overcrowding in trade and business in this country there was a dearth of traders in Pakistan. But somehow even they have now been absorbed in trade and business.

I was amazed at their courage when I saw refugees in my village, about 600 miles away from this city. On enquiring, I was told by them that they had come from West Pakistan and that they were working as peddlers there. Just as formerly there used to be some traders who supplied to the agriculturists, articles of need, realising the price at harvest time, so also these people are doing business now. I was really happy and very much pleased to see them working there. Indeed, it is my hope that they would make good progress and would be able to solve all their problems by their courage and daring. On behalf of the Government, I may say that it will continue to do all that it can for the solution of this problem and it is my belief that success will crown our efforts. I consider it a privilege to have had the opportunity of opening this market named in memory of revered Kamalaji.

ASSESSMENT OF RESOURCES

It gives me great pleasure to extend to you a hearty welcome to India. I am happy that the present Session of the International Statistical Conference in our capital has provided an opportunity to many of you to visit India for the first time. I hope this visit will enable you to get acquainted with our country and our people, and to carry lasting impressions which would contribute towards a better understanding between our countries.

India has always stood for peace, friendship and co-operation among the peoples of the world, and has taken active steps for the attainment of these objectives. It, therefore, gives me particular pleasure to welcome this assembly of eminent statisticians and economists from all over the world, who by their joint effort have, during the last sixty years, endeavoured to secure international co-operation in a constructive field. Ordinarily, scientists are acquainted with the views and opinions, endeavours and achievements of one another through their published works and scientific and technical journals. But even in their case, personal contact such as can be established and maintained only at a conference of this kind can be of great mutual help. Further, a gathering of scientific men always provides a stimulus to the development of new ideas and methods. I hope that the endeavours of this assembly will also lead to the evolution of new ideas in the statistical field. These, I am sure, will be of great value in the formulation of sound economic policies and programmes so as to provide a solid foundation for the building up of a peaceful and prosperous world.

The Government of India are keenly interested in the development of statistical methods and have, in recent years, given considerable encouragement to the building up of well-equipped statistical organisations in the country. They are conscious that, with the increasing complexities of the present day economic and social life and their wider range of operations, it is no longer possible for the Government to formulate its policies without comprehensive statistical data. India has, for the first time in her history, emerged as a unified State. She has a total geographical area of 1.22 million square miles and her population according to the last census is over 36 crore or 361 million. The individual share of land thus comes to about 2.16 acres per head as against 6 acres in China, 13 acres in the U.S.A. and 28 acres in the U.S.S.R. The total area under

Speech inaugurating the 27th Session of the International Statistical Institute at New Delhi on December 5, 1951.

cultivation, according to such figures as are available is about 260 million acres which is less than three quarters of an acre per head. We possess natural resources, much of which are as yet not fully investigated or mapped out, much less developed or worked out. Compared to many other countries, our masses have a low standard of living. We have thus a plethora of problems to tackle and solve. Our Government is undertaking a programme of economic and social development, as envisaged in the Five-Year Plan, which is based on available factual information about resources. In order to make the Plan more realistic, it is essential for us to have more reliable and accurate information about all the facts of our national life to enable us to make a proper assessment of our needs and resources. Government must know the facts and should be in a position to compare the past with the present so as to assess the prospects for the future. No Government, functioning in ignorance of facts, can successfully plan for progress.

Although scientific and technical developments have brought the distant areas of the world together, the absence of factual information about many countries is one of the chief obstacles to the growth of international understanding. If we are to build up an enlightened world community functioning with an understanding and appreciation of each other's problems, in a common endeavour for the benefit of mankind, it is essential that they should have objective and accurate factual data and the means for a free and full exchange of such information and ideas.

It is of particular significance that this session of the International Statistical Institute is being held in an Asian country. As you know, the development of statistical organisations and the use of statistics in the formulation of policies in Asian countries, has not been of the same magnitude as in other parts of the world. Nevertheless, in the context of the recent plans of economic development in all the Asian countries, collection of accurate and reliable statistical data has become of primary importance. I hope the holding of this Conference in an Asian country will lead to the growth of well-organised statistical systems which would be of considerable value in building up a sound basis for the economic and social advancement of the peoples of Asia and of the world.

When the Government of India issued invitations to this Conference, our Prime Minister had said : "We are deeply interested in fostering and developing further study of statistics and the use of statistical methods in administration and industry. The holding of a Session of the Inter-



*Inaugural address at the India Academy of Sciences,
New Delhi on December 27, 1951*

*Addressing the Indian Society of Agricultural Statistics in
New Delhi on December 12, 1951*





At the Kasturba Balika Ashram, Okhla on December 31, 1951

Inspecting exhibits at the Kasturba Balika Ashram, Okhla.
Accompanied by Srimati Rameshwari Nehru





Inspecting rare and ancient books at the Central Library, Bombay on February 25, 1952

Laying the foundation-stone of the new building for the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society, New Delhi on January 1, 1952





In the library hall of Poona University on February 26, 1952

Conferring the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters on Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt at Delhi University on March 15, 1952



national Statistical Institute will provide the necessary stimulus to these further studies and the presence of many distinguished statisticians from many countries will, apart from giving us much pleasure, be of considerable benefit to us." We are thus hoping that your deliberations and the contacts which our statisticians and specialists are establishing today will be of help to us in resolving our own difficulties besides advancing statistical science for the benefit of the world at large.

I extend to you once again a hearty welcome and wish you success in your deliberations.

THE MISSION OF UNIVERSITIES

No one in India today—whatever be his religion, language, race or caste—can claim that India belongs solely to him, for, every different section and group has played an important part in the making of India as it is today and thus, India is but a product of the joint effort of us all. Similarly, our culture is also a product of a common endeavour. Often, we are told of the difference between North and South India. This, in a way, is true, but in spite of this difference both the North and the South are mutually indebted to each other. Similarly, Hindus have contributed to the life of the Muslims just as much as the Muslims have to the life of the Hindus. Whether it be language, music or painting or any other aspect of our common culture, we find that all of them have borrowed a great deal from the different sections of Indian life and that not one of them is either isolated or entirely untouched by the influence of the various facets of life in India. Also, though India has integrated and assimilated different races, languages and cultures, she has not entirely effaced their peculiar individual characteristics. On the contrary, while maintaining differences, we have, to a great extent, contributed to each other. This is why people of different faiths live here harmoniously without any desire to exterminate other sects. I consider this assimilation and the absence of cultural hostility to be the most enduring achievement of our culture. Even a cursory survey of our history brings us to this very conclusion in spite of certain sporadic events which may, superficially, appear to falsify it.

In the wake of our freedom, we have become the arbiters of our own destiny and, in view of our history, we have to mould our lives in the direction of public and personal welfare. It was this that led us to specify clearly in our Constitution that every one in this country would have complete freedom which would not merely allow them to profess and follow their respective religions, but also give them the right to express their ideas and thoughts without any restraint. Also, our Constitution, based as it is on the principles of equality, fraternity and faith in one another, guarantees personal development for all, irrespective of sex, creed or status, so that through it we can work for peace and amity in India and abroad. We are determined to provide to everyone,

Address delivered at the Convocation of the Aligarh University on December 8, 1951.

opportunities for material betterment specially to those who, for some reason, are handicapped, because we believe that without economic welfare, human progress is impossible. The Constitutional safeguard of our economic facilities is neither new nor unfamiliar to us. It is but a natural outcome of our history which, matured during thousands of years, now permeates the entire body-politic. I would like you all to give thought to this and realise that when we claim to have established a democratic republic in India we have acknowledged the right of the individual in the government of the country. But the Constitution which makes itself responsible for safeguarding the rights and privileges of every Indian, makes it obligatory on him to do his duty to his country, Government, and fellow-countrymen: to the country and State, he owes the duty of loyalty and allegiance and to his countrymen, the duty of human kinship. If all our countrymen clearly understand both their rights and duties, we would live in peace and security and bring about the progress of India. Those who have the privilege of being educated and understand the truth of this are morally bound to impress this same truth on their countrymen and, thus, prepare them to fulfil their duty to the country.

Aligarh University is at least 75 years old and it was the vision and patriotic fervour of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan which led to its establishment, originally in the shape of a school, on June 1, 1875. Later, in 1921, it was raised to the status of a college and, in 1921, it was granted the status of a University. During these last 75 years, it has become an important centre of education and has acquired a name for itself in India and abroad. It has played a significant part in the history of Muslims in India. And, when we desire all our citizens to live together and progress through human relations, your university can make an effective contribution. Every University is, essentially, a centre of light from which worthy ideas are radiated to every part of the country and, therefore, it should not concern itself merely with the teaching of arts and sciences, but also encourage those whom it teaches to further the cause of the subject they have studied. Our Universities are, already engaged in conducting such studies and it is hoped that their progress would be accelerated. I would like this University to be a centre where people would not only have the opportunity to study every subject but also where original contribution would be made to the different spheres of knowledge. I am aware of the efforts of your Vice-Chancellor and other officers to improve and expand this University and, I am sure, that the Government would give it all possible assistance. The Government has, already, considered the question of increasing its grant and has, given

other special grants to open new departments. Also, the Parliament has enacted a new legislation to improve the administration of your university. The Government understands the value of this University to the nation and would, therefore, continue to assist it in the future. But no educational institution can hope to rise to its full stature or win the support of the people, solely with the assistance of the Government ; a University, if it hopes to acquire such a status must become an integral part and effective spokesman of the country's economic and cultural life. To voice the cultural aspirations of India, this and the other Universities must become a beacon of the principle of *Sulah-i-kul*, that is, peace and toleration and spread its rays to every corner of the land and remove completely, the darkness of communal conflict. I feel that in order to prepare temperament favourable to this principle, it is necessary that our Universities, instead of the external differences should concentrate on teaching the basic unities of our life. It is historically true that notwithstanding the many external differences, the people of every province and faith have, basically, a fundamental unity among themselves. In my view, a great many of the differences that exist among our people are due to one particular truth being referred to in different linguistic terms. If we carry the fundamental elements of our culture to every linguistic group in its own terminology, it is possible, in my opinion, to bridge this psychological gulf to a certain extent. For instance, the Sanskrit word 'Paramatman' denotes the same Reality which 'Khuda' symbolises in Persian and 'Allah' in Arabic, but by the word 'Allah' the devotee of 'Paramatman' does not feel that his God is being called by another name nor does the worshipper of 'Allah' feel that 'Paramatman' is, but another name for the Lord he calls 'Allah'. Poets like Kabir, Jayasi and Rahim tried to remove this psychological difference caused by linguistic terminology. I feel that it is now time that we stop feeling provoked at the mere mention of a word in a different language and begin to understand the deeper symbolism of such words. This would lead us to realise that what we had considered to be contradictory due to a difference of terminology was, in reality, the same thing.

In any case, we have to make the literature in the different languages of the country available to every other language group so that the ideals, hopes and aspirations of one group are made known to people outside it and closer relationship is established between diverse groups. If there is any suspicion between different people, it is, to a certain extent, due to a blind ignorance of the literature of other groups and the thought that it embodies, and this suspicion could have been removed by an increased sense of sympathy. I believe that this University can do a great deal to

remove this mutual suspicion and bring people closer to one another. The multi-coloured fabric of our culture is woven out of many a race and generation. The varied experience and wisdom of both scholars and sages is needed to interpret its pattern correctly. Your University can, undoubtedly, make a lasting contribution not only in lending completion to this variegated pattern, but also in interpreting the part played by Islam in its creation.

IMPORTANCE OF STATISTICS IN AGRICULTURE

It is a matter of great satisfaction to me that this Society has completed five useful years of life. As you know, I have been associated with the Society since its very inception. I am naturally glad that it has made great strides in its work of promoting studies and research in agricultural statistics. In particular, I note that the Society has, by organising courses of training in sample surveys during the last two years, stimulated interest in the improvement of agricultural statistics. The Society has so far published three volumes of its Journal, which has earned for it a wide appreciation in other countries.

I attach very great importance to the collection of accurate agricultural statistics because these statistics are fundamental not only for planning developmental measures, but also for assessing the progress of the five-year plan that we have just formulated and which we propose to put into operation in the coming year. In my previous address, I drew attention to the pressing problem of obtaining reliable estimates of our food production by improvement in the area and yield statistics of crops. It is, therefore, with satisfaction that I have learnt that the method of random sampling for crop estimation, which was in an experimental stage a few years back, has now been established as an annual measure in practically all States of the Union and yield-estimates of wheat and rice are at present available for almost the entire country. Steps for improvement are, I understand, also being taken to improve the accuracy and coverage of the statistics of crop acreages. These improvements broadly consist in enforcing a stricter and scientific supervision over the patwari's work in regions where this agency is available for collecting area statistics by complete enumeration of individual fields. In those areas where this agency does not exist or where the land is not cadastrally surveyed, a suitable sampling method appears feasible, according to the results of investigations that have been carried out, at least as an interim measure until an agency which can be entrusted with complete enumeration is established in regions which have been surveyed already and the cadastral survey carried out in hitherto unsurveyed tracts. I am told that the rice acreage in Koraput district of Orissa which is totally unsurveyed has been successfully estimated, perhaps for the first time in history, last year, by

Inaugural address on the occasion of the fifth annual meeting of the Indian Society of Agricultural Statistics, in New Delhi, on December 12, 1951.

random sampling. I am glad to learn that field investigations on sampling basis for the estimation of livestock numbers and of fish production have been carried out with encouraging results and an extension of this work is contemplated. It is, in fact, gratifying that a comprehensive five-year programme for consolidating the work done so far in the improvement of agricultural statistics, has been prepared and has received the approval of the Planning Commission. With the implementation of this programme, statistics of our agricultural production will be placed on a permanently sound footing and I hope the Government will give it the necessary priority.

NEW SAMPLING TECHNIQUES

Today, I want to place before you a somewhat different aspect in the collection of statistics. I appreciate the need for devising new sampling techniques and yet I feel that we have already got, in the records of the patwari, a mine of information which we have not cared to use as much as we should have done. In our search for newer methods of sampling and emphasis upon the need for trained technicians, we seem to have forgotten the value of the village papers in furnishing us with information on the different prevailing types of tenancy, the size and utilisation of the farmer's holding, the extent of its fragmentation and a variety of other agricultural matters. A cultivator's holding is the primary economic unit of agriculture and unless we relate all agricultural statistics to the cultivator's holding, we cannot properly plan developmental measures.

There was a time when economists used to think that small holdings cultivated by peasant proprietors gave the best yield. But, today, on account of the introduction of mechanical devices and instruments, larger sized holdings are preferred. I am not sure if any data are available—at any rate in this country—which lead scientifically to the conclusion that larger holdings necessarily give a better yield per acre. We are not aware as to how much of the land is held by agriculturists and how much by others. We do not know whether this difference in ownership makes any difference to the productivity of land. Nor do we know the relative productive capacity of holdings of different sizes and how fragmentation affects productivity. I am aware that a few village surveys have been carried out to throw light on these questions but the material is too scanty for valid conclusions to be drawn for the whole country, or even for any

large part of it. This matter has to be investigated more deeply if a firm conclusion is to be drawn one way or the other.

COLLECTION OF INFORMATION

It is not easy to elicit information on these questions by interviewing the cultivator. He is backward and illiterate and often fails to appreciate the object with which this information is sought. He has first to be assured that the collection of this information is for his own good and this can be ensured only by associating with such work, persons who are trained from amongst the cultivators themselves. It is for these reasons that I attach particular importance to the extraction of information from the patwari's records. Whatever might have been the reasons in the past for mistrusting the work of a government servant that a patwari is, these do not exist today. The patwari is now a servant of the people. He belongs to the village, enjoys a position and prestige and has full knowledge of the conditions and difficulties of his people. Of course, he is not a statistician, nor can he understand the principles of sampling and other modern methods of collecting statistics. He cannot, without proper training, use the scientific methods of crop cutting experiments for estimating the yield per acre; but in matters such as tenancy, size of holdings, fragmentation, and utilisation of land, I believe, his information is dependable. A patwari system, working in cadastrally surveyed areas, is a unique system which we have inherited from the time of Akbar and even earlier. The system has stood the test of time. I was particularly happy to note the finding of the numerous surveys undertaken by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, that the records maintained by the patwari in regard to crop acreages and other details of land utilisation, are, on the whole, correct. It is possible that he may sometimes neglect to make a rigorous personal inspection of the field in his jurisdiction before filling in his forms of return, especially when he has other more pressing calls on his time. I should not, however, like to think that he is less honest than others or that he is more prone to neglect his work than any other field staff that you might ask to work in his place. Human nature is the same everywhere and we should not therefore accept uncritically any suggestions deprecating the value of his work. This is not to say that he does not stand in need of more training, supervision or better conditions of service. These are universal pre-requisites of hard and conscientious work. The patwari has a great merit in as much as he provides a stable basis for our statistical system by a locally developed agency. A system which is not operated through such an agency but has to depend on outside assistance, is unlikely to

make any permanent contribution to the agricultural statistics of the country. I would therefore suggest to this Conference to devise ways and means for re-tabulating the information in the patwari's possession in a way which will effectively bring out the salient points of the agricultural economic structure of the country.

FAO's PROGRAMME

I have been led to make these remarks because I wish to refer to the programme of the World Agricultural Census of 1950 sponsored by the Food & Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations. Under this programme, it was intended that each Government would obtain accurate and comparable data on its agriculture, information on the number of agricultural holdings and their principal characteristics, e.g., size, form of tenure, utilisation of land, employment of labour and mechanical power and the number and characteristics of the people who secure their livelihood through agriculture.

I remember that when I was Minister-in-charge of Food & Agriculture, we received this programme from the F.A.O. I remember also that this Census was conceived of as a direct enumeration of all individual holdings in the country. I thought that we should have little difficulty in collecting the required information at least in so far as those parts of the country are concerned which are provided with the patwari. To me it appeared to be mainly a matter of re-tabulation of the existing information in the patwari's records. The permanently settled areas where there is no such record would present some difficulty in collecting the information and would presumably require the aid of sampling. Even in the permanently settled parts of Bengal and Bihar, survey and settlement operations were held some years ago and not only was each plot in every village mapped and numbered, but a record of rights of individuals to the village and to each plot in the village was prepared. A study of the record of rights will give not only the number of plots in the village but also the number of holdings comprising several plots of each tenant. The information regarding these can be had almost completely from such records. The only defect is that the records may be out of date now, due to constant division of holdings and plots and transfer of rights. The survey and settlement reports contain a lot of information which, though out of date today, may still form the basis and foundation for a general plan. I remember that the whole question was considered by a Technical Co-ordination Committee of the Ministry of Agriculture, which presented detailed plans and estimates of expenditure for the consideration of the Government. I was, however, sorry to hear that we have not

yet been able to take up the census although India had expressed her willingness to do so. I regret it all the more because I learn that most countries of the world who are members of the F.A.O., have already completed their census within the framework of the programme drawn by the F.A.O. Even apart from meeting the needs of the F.A.O., I think it is in our own interest that we should conduct the census of holdings by making the maximum possible use of the patwari's records. If we do not have the time and money for a complete census, I believe that the tabulation of data can be possible on a sampling basis. The information is vital to our own Five-Year Plan. I wish to impress upon you all, the desirability of paying the utmost attention to this question and to see that this census is carried out without further postponement.

UNIVERSITY—THE FUTURE SAVIOUR

I see, assembled before me, Vice-Chancellors and other high dignitaries representing the Universities not only of India, Burma and Ceylon but also of the other countries which are members of the Commonwealth. I appreciate the honour that has been conferred on me by calling upon me to inaugurate this Conference. This, I believe, is the first time that such a Conference is meeting in India. The Inter-University Board of India and particularly the University of Delhi, are proud of the privilege of acting as hosts to this distinguished gathering. The subject which has been selected for discussion namely, "The role of Universities in the promotion of social welfare" is of great import and absorbing interest not only to members of this Conference but also to thinking men and women all over the world.

To us who are living in the world of today there are many things which we take for granted but which would have been looked upon as marvels in the not very distant past. The strides which discoveries in the physical sciences and technology have taken within the last two hundred years, have changed not only the face of the world, but also the lives of individual human beings. The introduction of steam and electricity has revolutionised the technique of transport, industrial production and communication. The discoveries in the field of medicine and surgery have made possible the cure of many ailments which were considered incurable. Science has thus placed in the hands of man, the means for making life easy and comfortable. It has also, through the same discoveries, placed in his hands weapons of destruction, the like of which perhaps were never thought or dreamt of. The progress that has been made within the last few years in harnessing nuclear energy to constructive purposes has surpassed anything hitherto achieved in its destructiveness. Its beneficent uses and effects are not yet known or visible to any appreciable extent. The world is thus faced with a problem of surpassing importance to the human race and to civilisation. It is no exaggeration to say that today humanity faces destruction unless it knows how to control and use for good, the knowledge and the power that this knowledge has brought.

Inaugural speech at the Joint Meeting of the Inter-University Board of India and the Executive Council of the Association of the Universities of the British Commonwealth on December 21, 1951 at the Delhi University.

There is a story in the Puranas which I may relate here to illustrate the point. There was a *rakshasa* or an evil genius named Bhasmasur who did great penance. The God Siva was pleased and appearing before him, bade him ask for any favour and it would be granted to him. The *asura* had suffered by his penance and was pleased with this offer. The gift he sought was that the god should give him power by virtue of which any one on whose head he placed his hand, would be instantaneously destroyed. The god had given his word and being unable to go back upon it he gave him the power he had asked for. The *asura* began to consider who was the most powerful man or god in the universe whom he could destroy and thus become the undisputed master. He thought no one could be greater than the god who had given him this gift of destruction and he decided to destroy the God Siva himself so that he might acquire undisputed mastery over the universe and the hand of his consort Parvati. Perceiving his intention the god fled, pursued by the demon, and he could find no place where he could take shelter to save himself. Parvati, the consort of God Siva, saw his plight and came to his rescue. She appeared before the demon in all her charm and beauty and told him that as he was seeking to destroy the god to gain her hand, she was ready to place herself in his hands if he could please her by performing a particular dance. The demon in his infatuation and pride readily assented and began to dance. One of the postures of the dance required the placing of his hand on his own head and as soon as he did it, he destroyed himself. The gods of today have conspired to place in the hands of man illimitable power of destruction and infatuating attraction of all that he in his pride of knowledge regards as beautiful and sublime. One can only hope and pray that he will not succumb to the temptation of performing the dance of his own destruction. How can this be prevented? That is the problem which presents itself to mankind in its innumerable aspects. Let us hope and pray that the Goddess of Knowledge will also teach mankind the right use of the strength and power that she has placed in its hands. The lesson that we learn from the story is that mere knowledge which is power is not enough—it may even turn out to be an evil—unless it is accompanied and controlled by wisdom. Universities should therefore be centres for the acquisition, propagation and advancement of knowledge as also the homes of wisdom radiating rays that will illumine and suffuse the human spirit.

I may place before you the same thought in simple language bereft of all allegory. Developments have been taking place which are likely to change the shape of things beyond recognition. Nuclear energy has given man the power of gods—the power to dispense life and death, the power to

transform this globe into a smiling paradise or into an utterly desolate and silent graveyard. We are all aware of the revolutionary changes which came in the wake of steam and electricity. It is therefore quite legitimate to expect that nuclear energy carried with it far greater revolutionary implications for the social structure and psychological constitution of humanity than steam or electricity ever did.

Another revolutionary force that is beating against the shell of present-day society is the irresistible urge of vast masses of men, particularly the economically and industrially backward billions of Asia and Oceania, to an equal share in the good things of life. In the centuries gone by, the masses lived and laboured under the belief that the fruits of their toil depended on the dispensations of an inscrutable destiny, and that they had no option in this matter. So it was that they resigned themselves passively to their miserable lot. But this sanction of Fate behind the *status quo* has disappeared or is in the process of disappearing in so far as the millions of human beings in Asia are concerned. Many of them now feel, rightly or wrongly, that their destitution and misery is due to the designs of evil men, classes or nations and not to the dispensations of an all-merciful and omniscient God. Hunger is driving many more to revolt against their present misery. So it is that billions are now on the march against the political and social structure of the present-day world. Never before in history were such vast masses of men and women in insurrection against authority and order and working actively to establish a new social order.

There would be no hope for the survival of man if these two revolutionary forces of our times, were inherently irreconcilable. Fortunately, it is just the other way about. Till almost yesterday, the productive apparatus of humanity did not have the capacity to satisfy the want of all men—white and coloured. It is true that steam and electricity had expanded production greatly, but even then their total capacity was limited and they could not hope to satisfy the increasing wants of a quickly multiplying human race. This was inevitable. Since the supply of power was limited, production could not but be limited, while there was not and, in the nature of things, there could not be any limit to the number of claimants to the goods produced. But nuclear energy gives humanity unlimited and illimitable power. If employed for creative purposes, it would generate an unlimited capacity for production and usher in an era of such plenty that every man or woman could take what he or she wanted, without affecting the share of his or her fellow beings. In other words, this revolutionary energy is the answer to the urge of the masses for the good things of life. It may be doubted, however,

whether this reconciliation between these two revolutionary forces can be brought about by the social mind which governs the actions of man today. It is to a great extent the creature of an age of limited power and limited production. It is, therefore, almost inevitable for it to fail to appreciate correctly the inner nature and logical implications of these new facts of life. This apprehension is strengthened by the attitude of the modern mind towards war and want. Even today, the truth does not seem to have dawned upon it that the total abolition of these two is the very condition of the continued survival of the human race. Till yesterday, war meant nothing more than the destructive use of the limited power which any class or territorial grouping had in its possession against other classes or nations for the settlement of their disputes. They could contemplate such use with equanimity because this limited power could cause only limited destruction of the things they valued while it could enable them to achieve objectives which they valued more than the few things destroyed. Besides, due to limited production, good things could not be produced in such plenty as to permit all men to share them. So, it was inevitable for individuals or groups to strive to grab the things they coveted even by resort to force against the other claimants. In other words, in the age of limited production, war was felt by human groupings to be an effective means to their good life. Naturally, the social mind evolved under such conditions could not but react to war as something desirable and, at any rate, as something essential and unavoidable in human life. This attitude towards war has become so ingrained in our social mind that, instead of instinctively recoiling at its mere mention, vast numbers of men, including men of learning and high political standing, still consider it to be an effective instrument of settling group or national differences and disputes, and as a natural and logical concomitant of organised communal life. This social mind with its fixed reactions towards war cannot in the nature of things comprehend the implications of war in an age of unlimited power. Nuclear energy, as I have just said, gives to man illimitable and unlimited power. Its destructive use would, by its very nature, produce consequences that could not be limited either in space or in time. Thus it appears to be an unavoidable conclusion that war in the new age opening out before us is likely to prove fatal to human existence. But, I am afraid that our social mind, acclimatised to war as it is, cannot easily grasp this truth and may fail to appreciate the true significance of nuclear energy in the scheme of human life.

Nor is the mind likely to solve successfully, the questions posed by the rising of the masses against the misery of their lives. For the last

thousands of years, the poverty and misery of the many and the affluence and culture of the few has been an unavoidable and ineluctable fact of human life. It is true that many a prophet and seer, overflowing with the milk of love and sympathy, shed tears on this sad lot of the many. Some of them even raged against the few for enjoying themselves while their fellows were suffering all kinds of agony and frustration. But whether they accepted this situation with resignation or fumed against it with religious fervour, the fact remained that poverty was not and could not be abolished. The spectre of want could not be exorcised. It was under these conditions of limited production and the inevitability of want that the present day social mind came into being.

In spite of the termination of hostilities more than six years ago, no nation or class has known either peace or prosperity. But, instead of realising that their present plight is due to a basic defect in the social mind, each believes it to be due to an overdose of evil in the heart of its rival nation or class. Not a day passes without such accusations and counter-accusations being made in trumpet tones. As I have already hinted, the malaise of our lives is not the evil conscience of any one nation, but the incompatibility of the historic social mind of man to the new forces of his life. Indeed, the crisis man is facing today is not so much a crisis of organisation or of commodities as of the spirit. In other words, it is not commodities or institutions that we lack today, it is the integrated will and vision to make a correct use of our powers and resources. Naturally, the remedy for this lies not so much in the world of things and institutions as in the realm of the spirit. To use a Gandhian expression, it is not the conquest of the world, but the conversion of heart which we need today. It is not physical force but soul force that is needed above all. It is this cardinal need that gives to the true university a great part to play as the future saviour of mankind. Other human institutions, whatever their power or panoply may be, are proving ineffective and helpless in the face of this crisis. Indeed, in its various forms, the state has been seeking to overcome the ills of human society. It has also some success to its credit. But, I cannot help remarking that this faith in the State has also directly led to the birth and growth of totalitarianism which by its very nature implies the supremacy of a small class over the many.

Force, the chief instrument of the State, creates little and destroys much. Naturally, while the state has been able to abolish the anarchy of feudalism, it has given birth to the far more dangerous anarchy of nations and classes—an anarchy which is now threatening the very existence of the human race itself. Like the State, the other social institu-

tions also have not enabled man to overcome this crisis of our times. For overcoming it, we need a social mind that takes in its stride all fields and aspects of human activity on a global scale, and which does not remain imprisoned within the cell of a single class or a single nation. No other institution except the university, truly conceived and rightly guided, can bring into existence such an integrated and universal mind. The primary function of the university is the correct moulding and modelling of the mind of man and to give integral unity to the social mind of an heterogeneous human race. We are all fully aware of the fact that in every age and clime the university has performed the dual function of transmission of the ideas of the past generations to each new generation and of the discovery of new ideas and the further development of the old ones. In other words, it has been the mission of the university to transmit the social mind to each new generation and, by doing so, to shape and mould the mind of the latter. Today, also, every university in the world is trying to perform this function. But this very function logically implies another function also, the function of integrating the diverse social minds simultaneously operating within a single human grouping. While other institutions in life usually are exclusive by their very nature, the university is not and cannot be a closed organism.

How can the university discharge this obligation which the new age has placed on her? In the first place the university will have to change its approach to the story of the evolution of human society. Till the present day, the main theme of this story is the role of Force in human society. Almost every book of history devotes a major part of space to wars and conflicts and very little to the evolution of social and scientific ideas and ideals. It is the soldier and not the scientist or philosopher, the poet or artist who is given the chief place. Even today, a vast majority of history books give the impression that organised physical violence is the main dynamic and driving principle of the drama of human life. Yet, violent conflict is not the daily feature of life. It is an exception that occurs at intervals. Man lives not from war to war, but from one creative effort to another. The entire human history has to be re-interpreted in terms of the ceaseless creative and ethical activity which alone distinguishes man from all other creatures in this world. It is now being realised that history is, ultimately the story of the human mind. I think that it is now time for universities in every part of the world to make a concerted attempt at the re-interpretation of the story of man in terms of creative and ethical activities as its main dynamic principle. It may sound unorthodox to many but I do believe that man

is not the creature of mere blind physical force or the helpless victim of circumstance—his environment over which he has no control. He has the power and capacity to mould and shape them as he will and has done so on many an occasion in the past. It is for the university to rouse and re-awaken in him that slumbering spirit which will make him the master, rather than the slave that he is, of his surroundings which are in no small measure his own creation.

Another change necessary in this respect is to make the world, instead of the nation, the framework of historical writings. Today, the nation shuts the man out of view altogether. After all, it is the creative urge of men in all parts of the world that has impelled them to weave this fabric of civilisation and culture. There are indeed many a strand and thread in it. But in the ultimate analysis all these are the creation of the human spirit, though the regional climate and group life have also coloured them to a certain extent. So in all historical writings, the main emphasis should shift to the human spirit and the character of the region and the group concerned should be given only secondary importance.

Besides a change in approach to the question of social evolution, it is also necessary that the university should now integrate itself within the life of the people as a whole rather than remaining a limb only of the classes. Originally its isolation from the common people was due to the fact that the latter had neither the time nor the economic resources to flock to it. This isolation has continued to keep the university away from the tumult and the passions of the market place so that its alumni may carry on the pursuit of truth in a calm and dispassionate atmosphere. But the position has now changed, and the university can now effectively and directly serve the broad masses of humanity. It not only can but it must do so in order to also gather the masses under the sovereignty of the new mind. It is a fact of history that in the past the mind of the classes was vastly different from the mind of the masses. But this gulf between the two did not have then the dangerous potentialities which it has today. If it continues to persist, there is every danger of the fabric of civilisation going up in flames.

There is another reason also, in my view, why the university should become integrated with the life and aspirations of the masses. If the present insurrection of the masses against want is not led into creative and constructive channels, it is likely to prove a volcanic lava which may destroy everything good or bad. The need for the guidance of this insurrection into right channels is an immediate one. If the university,

which ought to have no axe of its own to grind, decides to approach the masses it would be in a position to place the national and international problems in a correct perspective and would thus be able to give the masses the vision and the judgment to exercise their electoral rights correctly. But as I have already remarked, this integration of the university with the people is absolutely essential to produce in them the new mind which the new age demands. It is only when they are also activated by such a mind that the two revolutionary forces of our day would combine to produce a world of plenty and peace.

It is in the context of the supreme importance of this revolution of ideas that I view the importance of this common meeting between Commonwealth Universities Association and the Inter-University Board. I feel that this Association can play an important part in transforming the universities of the Commonwealth. It is my earnest hope that your deliberations will help the universities to recognise that it is they who will be the leaders of thought and action in the age to come and that it is they who will control and guide the unlimited power and resources that knowledge has placed in the hands of man.

SCIENCE AND HUMAN WELFARE

Although, I have no claim to the knowledge of Science, but I feel that the ultimate objective and practical aim of all sciences is and ought to be the well-being and progress of the ordinary man, and being an ordinary man myself, I am entitled to expect that scientists will devote their time and energy, intellect and knowledge to man's welfare.

It is a matter of satisfaction that, in this country, the study of science and scientific research has made great strides during the last fifty years. I remember that when I left school after having passed the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University and joined the Presidency College in Calcutta, Science was not given the importance or the place which it has since come to occupy in our educational curricula. If I remember rightly, there was no separate B.Sc. degree, but only one B.A. degree with two courses—one known as the A course in which only Arts subjects were included or the B course in which English and Mathematics were obligatory subjects with a third subject comprising Physics and Chemistry. Now we have bifurcation at the pre-degree stage when a student may take up the Science course and prepare for the I.Sc. as distinguished from the I.A. or Intermediate Examination in Arts and proceed to work for the B.Sc. and M.Sc. degrees, confining himself to a study of Science. This has, naturally, led our students to take more and more interest in Science and today, all the Universities and most of the better colleges have facilities for teaching Science subjects. Post-graduate study and research in Science are also encouraged. We have a number of research institutes dealing with various subjects and aspects of scientific research and, I believe, a great deal of original work is being done in all these centres. Some of our men have attained world-wide distinction and earned fame not only for themselves, but also for the country.

Today, no country can afford to lag behind in scientific study, if it desires to keep its head above water. It is not possible for us to keep out of the current set in motion by science and scientific work done in other countries, even if we wished to do so. We must, therefore, keep ourselves abreast of progress in the world at large. For that purpose, two aspects which to a layman like me appear to be rather distinct from each other

Address at the inauguration of the 17th annual meeting of the Indian Academy of Sciences at New Delhi on December 27, 1951.

in their practical application, have to be kept in view. One is research of a theoretical or fundamental character, and the other is the application of the results of such fundamental research to the solution of the problems of everyday life and further, the spread of practical scientific knowledge in our daily life in the field, factory, or home, by every man and woman— young or old, rich or poor.

The importance of theoretical or fundamental research cannot be exaggerated because the question of political application of a theory can arise only after a theory is known. But, it is no derogation from its importance or value to say that the ordinary man, may be because he cannot understand it, is not greatly interested in it. He is more concerned with the practical application of scientific knowledge. He enjoys a ride in an automobile. He is happy if the application of some practical scientific method helps him to produce a few maunds more than he usually does in his tiny little field. He is happy if he is cured of a disease which was considered incurable. He is not much concerned, if at all, in the detailed and deep scientific knowledge that has gone into the making and assembling of a motor-car, implements of agriculture, the pump for irrigation or the manure which has helped him in growing more food or in the improved highly specialised method of diagnosis or treatment of diseases. Speaking on behalf of the ordinary man, I am interested in the results and practical application of scientific knowledge for bettering my life; and I would like to tell the distinguished scientists, if any, that I, as an ordinary man, shall be satisfied only if our scientists give us practical solutions for our problems. The solutions, too, should be such as are not, considering my limited equipment and resources, beyond my capacity to understand and apply in a practical manner. May I request you to fashion your work so as to make its results easily acceptable to the ordinary man? I believe he is not without a certain fund of native intelligence and will, as a matter of fact, accept and adopt the results of scientific knowledge, if once he feels convinced of their utility, and provided they are not beyond his means and resources. Above all, these have to be made known to him in a simple, intelligible and practical way. I know all this may not be within the province of scientists and may necessitate action on the part of the State and private organisations to popularise scientific knowledge and its practical application. But, you have to evolve your knowledge in a form in which the State and other organisations may adopt and popularise it. I have no doubt that you are aware of these considerations, but I felt that you may not be disinclined to listen to a layman's approach to your field of activity.

There is another point to which I would like to draw your attention though not without considerable hesitation and trepidation. Modern Science should not ignore or despise the results of past achievements, even when the theory underlying them and their background are not apparent or, it may be, were not known to those who actually achieved the results. I hope you will permit me to illustrate this by referring to a few examples. Engineering has made tremendous progress in recent times. Yet, the feats of engineers and builders of the past are not to be depised or lightly treated. I do not know if there were any engineering colleges or other institutions which trained the builders of our South Indian temples or the Taj and the forts of the Mughal Emperors. Even lesser known structures than these, have stood the inclemencies and extremes of Indian climate for hundreds of years. What was the cement or building material used in them? Steel, where it has been used, or as one sees round about the Sun temples of Konarak in Orissa, left in the open for years has proved equally immune to the ravages of time and weather. All our new buildings are using modern construction materials. I wonder if the materials used in the old structures have been examined and scientifically tested; also, whether these materials were found to be more costly or inferior and hence rejected. Similarly, we know there are medicinal preparations in our indigenous systems which definitely cure certain diseases. Although some research has been going on in connection with our drugs, I am not sure if the particular preparations, the prescriptions and methods of preparation of which are known and can be found in books, have been scientifically investigated and the causes for their effectiveness discovered.

In agriculture, the yield per acre in our country is, at present, very much less than that of other countries. Efforts are being made to introduce the methods which will increase the yield, and in experimental farms and competitions, the produce has been comparable to the yield of other countries. But, let us not ignore the fact that our agriculturists are, already, acquainted with some of the practical applications of latest agricultural theories, for example, the method of rotation of crops, the value of allowing the land to remain fallow to recoup its fertility, and the difference that ploughing—its intensity and depth—makes. They also have old mechanical devices for lifting water for irrigation. We have also to remember that a great deal of our land has been in cultivation for many centuries and has, yet, been able to retain its fertility, although the yield is less than in newly cultivated soils. I do not know whether sufficient attention and research have been devoted to a study of the older methods and materials with a view to improving them. I have a

feeling that it would be easier and, perhaps, less expensive to improve the old implements and methods than to introduce altogether new instruments and materials, particularly in agriculture.

Even at the risk of being dubbed a reactionary, I have ventured to mention some of the old things which might, perhaps, be investigated. Of course, I have not shut my eyes to the great improvement made by scientific research in all directions and its practical application to solve our problems. But, I do plead that existing instruments and methods be not discarded without full investigation into their merit. My impression is that Science does not take things for granted, but tries to understand them before it accepts them. I suggest that the same may be done before anything is rejected and that nothing be cast away merely because it is old.

A HOUSE FOR CHILDREN

This is the first time that I am visiting this institution and I had no previous opportunity of knowing what is being done here. You have rightly observed that formerly we could devote more of our time and energy co-operating with you in constructive work. But you know fully well the reason why these opportunities have become far fewer now-a-days. I would like to assure you that even though we may not be able to share directly in your work, yet we still have the same sympathy with you as we had before. It is our confident hope that the friends who are now engaged in this kind of work would carry it forward. A time will come when we would again have opportunities of directly sharing in their work.

I am reminded of what happened many years ago. Probably, it was 2 or 3 years after the non-co-operation movement of 1921. An institution known as Bihar Vidyapith was functioning at the time in Bihar. I had invited Sri Rajagopalachari to participate in a function like this to distribute prizes and give his blessings to the children. He had made an observation which is still fresh in my memory. He said that a great movement had taken place in the year 1920-21 whose effect was felt all over the country and although it had somewhat lost its momentum, they should all remain confident that the movement would again gather great strength at the proper time. He had also observed that such institutions as the Bihar Vidyapith were keeping the flame of that movement alive. He further said that just as numerous lamps may be lighted with one single lamp, so also such institutions could carry on the light of that movement.

I am quite confident that the constructive programme which Gandhiji had laid down for us and in pursuance of which this institution has been working, will enable our people to shape the future of the country according to Gandhiji's desire. I have great interest in institutions engaged in this kind of work and I am always ready to do what little I can for them. I would request those who are engaged in this work not to lose heart in the least and not to consider this work of smaller significance than any other kind of work. You should not care in the least if you do not get publicity in the press or your photographs do not appear in the newspapers. It is my hope that the children who are being trained here would advance the cause of the country when they grow up. I would, therefore, like to congratulate these children for their good fortune in being asso-

English translation of speech in Hindi at the prize-distribution ceremony of the Kasturba Balika Ashram at Okhla on December 31, 1951.

ciated with this work of service. The work being done here, I believe, is far greater than what I am able to see at this time. These children who have come from all parts of the country would, I trust, become living centres of work and would by their service bring light to their respective regions. I also hope that as time passes the number of young girls engaged in this kind of work would continue to increase. At no time should there be any flagging of effort in this direction.

You have referred to the paucity of funds. We are all suffering from financial difficulties in our activities. I would like to point out, in this connection, what Mahatma Gandhi always used to say, namely, that sincere workers do not, in the long run, suffer from lack of funds. As your work progresses, you would also get the necessary financial support from the public. You have already had such an experience as is evident from the fact that some gentleman has, of his own accord, made a gift of this land to you. I, therefore, believe that your work would go on expanding.

I do not think I can give any special advice about the work that you are doing at present. It is being guided by persons who have devoted a large part of their lives to such activities and who already have some achievements to their credit. Naturally, I cannot tell you anything with which they are not already acquainted by experience. I must, however, say that in our educational institutions very little attention is paid to the development of character. If the non-official institutions, particularly institutions engaged in constructive work, paid attention to this matter and tried to develop the character of their students they would be doing a great service to the country. It is my hope that you would devote more attention to this aspect of education. I congratulate the children who have been awarded prizes. Others should keep up their efforts and they are sure to succeed.

You have referred to the question of residential accommodation. You have enough land in your possession. My own feeling is that many institutions today suffer from financial stringency because they lavishly spend on the construction of big buildings. If you are, at present, short of funds you should not lay much emphasis on the construction of big buildings here. Gandhiji had placed an example before the country by living in a cottage constructed at a very small cost in Sevagram. When work of great national importance could be carried on by him in that small cottage, I believe that the education of our children can also be carried on in cottages of that type. I am sure, you would feel the want of funds much less if you follow this course. Let me hope that you will give your thoughtful consideration to this aspect.

ART—AN EXPRESSION OF THE SOUL

It is a matter of great satisfaction that your Society is now going to have its permanent home in this capital city. Your Society has been in existence since 1931 and has, within this period, spread its activities to many a distant part of the country where its regional committees are already functioning. I am glad that you have not kept your work confined only to production of works of art, but have also taken active steps to popularise them through exhibitions of which, as pointed out, more than 100 have been held. It is an attractive idea to have an All-India Travelling Art Exhibition and I believe the one organised by you, which has already visited many Indian cities, has been well received by the people. You have also gone abroad in search of art and have organised international art exhibitions on more than one occasion, in New Delhi and elsewhere. I desire to congratulate you on what you have already accomplished. The structure which you propose to put up for your exhibitions and for other purposes will, I hope, be a worthy home of modern Indian art and samples of art from other countries. Your demand does not appear to be high and I can do no better than express my hope that you will not be required to hold back its progress for want of funds. I have no doubt that the Government, which has already shown its interest by an initial grant, will give consideration to any further request that you may make.

Within recent times, art in India has been facing great difficulties. But the time has now come for a great efflorescence. I believe man's spirit has found expression in all directions during the times through which we are now passing. We have recently attained our freedom and this should find expression, not only in our political and economic betterment, but also in the various forms of art. From the earliest times, Indian art has had religious and spiritual ideals for its motive and inspiration. I am not an artist, not even a dilettante connoisseur of it. But my feeling is that art is not merely a representation of something that exists, but that it always reaches out to an idea which it has not realised. While a photographic representation may be realistic and serve to remind us of what we have seen, heard and experienced, it is still short of being a work of art. The ideal is never reached by the real. That does not, however, mean that art is something separate and apart

Speech at the foundation-stone laying ceremony of the permanent building of the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society in New Delhi on January 1, 1952.

from what is real. It only means that art seeks to perfect the real. This can only be done if the artist has in him the moral and spiritual fervour which inspires it. In other words, as Mahatma Gandhi has said, "All true art is an expression of the soul. The outward forms have value only in so far as they are the expression of the spirit of man. True art must guide the soul to realise the inner self."

It is this aspect which makes art at once universal and restricted. It is universal in that it appeals to all ; it is restricted in that it is given to few to express the truth that is embodied in it. I hope that in this renaissance our artists will not run after the ephemeral but abide by the eternal. After all, the great contribution of the artist is that he can mould the thoughts and lives of countless unknown individuals and he can do this only if there is truth in his art. It is in this sense that "truth is beauty and beauty truth". We need the artist who will shed the influence of Truth on the lives of millions of people, who will make them feel the dignity and greatness of their destiny and harness their creative energy to the service of mankind.

TEXTILE MACHINERY

It gives me much pleasure to open the factory of the National Machinery Manufacturers, Ltd. The textile industry is the oldest in this country. As you have pointed out, it was a hundred years ago that the first textile factory was established here. Since then, our textile industry has grown and today produces nearly 4,000 million yards of cloth and more than 350 million lbs. of free yarn. It is our biggest industry and its production is roughly one-fourth of the total industrial production of the country. Its importance therefore cannot be exaggerated. Our average annual imports of textile machinery for 1948-49, 1949-50 and 1950-51 have been of the order of Rs. 10 crore 21 lakh. Apart from the fact that we have to import immense quantities of machinery, it is also necessary to reduce our dependence on foreign countries for the upkeep of this large and essential industry. It is being realised that industrialisation in various sectors can be complete and effective only when we are in a position to produce the bulk of the machinery required. In many fields, we have reached a stage when the manufacture of capital goods for the expansion and maintenance of our factories has become necessary and urgent. Manufacture of machinery for the textile, sugar, jute, rice, flour and oil mills must be undertaken urgently. I am therefore glad that National Machinery Manufacturers, Ltd., will be able to meet a considerable part of the demand for textile machinery. I understand that the value of your annual output would be approximately Rs. 1½ crore, and the production will be able to meet 20 per cent of the total demand for spinning machinery and 40 to 45 per cent of the total demand for ring frames. Texmaco of Gwalior has already been in operation for some years and has supplied over 800 ring frames to over 200 textile mills in India and Pakistan and its products have been found to be very satisfactory. Even so, a great deal still remains to be done. I hope, however, that we shall soon be in a position to meet our entire demand not only for our spinning machinery, but also for weaving machinery. I congratulate you on your enterprise. You have been able to secure the active co-operation of one of the oldest and biggest manufacturers of the world in this line, namely, the Textile Machinery Makers Ltd., of England who have made available to your factory, their vast practical

Speech on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the New Textile Spinning Machinery Factory at Kalwe, Thana District on February 25, 1952.

experience and the benefit of research they are constantly doing for improving the efficiency of textile machinery.

This factory is a co-operative enterprise in which the consumers of its output, the Indian textile mill owners, hold the bulk of its shares. Let me hope that your example will soon be followed by others in this country. The progress of industrialisation in this country has been held up due to lack of capital goods. For rapid and all round development of industries, the establishment of such basic industries is absolutely necessary. There is no lack of enterprise or capital. Experience in various fields has shown that our workers possess the intelligence to pick up the work quickly. With the expansion of technical instruction, availability of capital and the exploitation of our natural resources, we can look forward with confidence to an era of industrial expansion in all sectors. I have no doubt that industrialists and capitalists are going to play an important part. I am sure you will make your valuable contribution to this great work of national rejuvenation.

I thank you Sri Krishnaraj Thackersey and your associates and colleagues and wish you all success in your enterprise. I must also express my appreciation and feelings of gratefulness to the Textile Machinery Makers Ltd., of England and particularly to Mr. Kenneth Preston for the readiness with which they came forward to help. Their continued interest in its welfare would be very helpful. With these words I declare this factory open and give it the best of my wishes.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

It is a matter of great pleasure to me to visit the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Central Library which I have just seen. You have correctly pointed out that the Central Library is not only a library, but a centre of life and activity. In previous years, High Court Judges have done much for the study of arts and literature in the country. They were the forerunners of the study of oriental subjects in India and the founders of such educational institutions. I have no doubt in my mind that they will continue to live up to their traditions in future also. Formerly, in order to raise funds necessary for running the library, they used to appeal to the people for buying lotteries, but today I have no doubt in my mind that if funds could be raised only in that way, perhaps you shall have to protect the society from it. I am also sure that it is not necessary now-a-days to do so for raising funds for a good cause. It has been my experience that no cause which is really good, suffers from want of funds. If there is lack of anything, it is the lack of good and genuinely devoted men for running the administration of a particular organisation. I have just had a glimpse of what your library contains. The time which I have spent there is too short, but from the little that I have seen, I quite realise the value of the large collection that you have. You are not content only with giving facilities to many scholarly persons to study and give the result of research, but you have also decided to serve the general public through this Central Library. I am glad that such a large number of people are taking advantage of the facilities given by the Society. I think, as Carlyle has said, that a true university consists in a library and it is through the libraries that a country can progress. I am confident we shall, in the no distant future, be able to boast of libraries spread not only over big cities but even in villages. In ancient times, people in this country did not attach so much importance to literature and to reading as has been done in other countries. In fact, we had a different method of imparting instructions and our culture has been maintained and propagated very largely through spoken words. Through those words, it has been able to attain progress. That has now, in the modern age, to be supplemented by books, by printed material and I have no doubt that the library movement has a great future. Already, it has been spreading and we may hope that in the near future we shall

Speech at the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, on February 25, 1952.

have no illiterate person—man or women—in this country. Then, the work of the library will have been done and the library will have maintained its old success. I am glad you have started so well. As has been your past history, your past achievement, so I hope will be your future achievement. I wish it all success.

POONA—A PLACE OF MODERN PILGRIMAGE

I did not need much persuasion to come and visit this University. I am reminded of an incident which took place some 35 years ago, when I first came in contact with Mahatmaji. He had returned from South Africa and gone to Bihar. One evening, we were going to a place near Bettiah in the Champaran district where we were staying in those days. He had just completed the tour of the whole country and under the guidance of Gokhale he had decided not to speak anything for a year. He had not completed this year of probation. I put this question to him. "You have seen places all over the country. Which place do you consider to be the best in the whole country?" He said, "Poona is a place of modern pilgrimage. I know of no other place which has got as much self-sacrifice concentrated in it as Poona." I followed his advice. The first place outside Bihar which I visited was Poona. Of course, I visited Bengal first, but Bihar and Bengal had been only recently separated. I visited Poona in 1918. Ever since then, I have maintained that respect and reverence for this centre of sacrifice. When I came here first, I visited some of the institutions which existed in those days. Dr. Paranjpe had, perhaps, left at that time, but I am not sure. There were others who were running those institutions when I visited them on the occasion. Since then, I have made it a point to visit it whenever I happen to come this side, just to get a little inspiration for myself.

You have started under a very good auspices. You have got a beautiful building, a magnificent garden and more than that, you have got men of sacrifice and learning and it is these which go to make a real and true University. I am sure, with all the traditions of sacrifice and learning and of political work of which Poona has remained a centre for more than 30 years, you will gain a position which will be, I think, as high, if not higher, as can be attained by any other university. It is also a matter of great satisfaction that you are concentrating on the best kind of research work and that you are now thinking of turning to Science which has not so far received its due in Poona. I am sure, the Government will also be prepared to help you—not only the State Government but also the Government of India, because they are keen on helping any university which is doing research work and spreading education among the masses. The Government of India has shown its

Reply to the welcome speech made by Dr. Jaykar, Vice-Chancellor of the Poona University, on February 26, 1952, at Poona University, Poona.

appreciation by starting two of its institutions here and I think there is something like an earnest proposal to make Maharashtra a seat of great scientific learning. I wish you all success in your endeavours and I am sure that with a Vice-Chancellor like Dr. Jaykar, under whose guidance the University is running and moulding its life in infancy, things will go right and in the no distant future this University will be one of the biggest and finest in the country.

THE NOBLE PROFESSION OF NURSING

I have always considered nursing, be it professional or amateur, to be one of the noblest acts an individual can be privileged to perform. Conscientiously, diligently and cheerfully performed, a nurse should find uttermost joy in her work. In the process of alleviating the pain and agony of the diseased or the injured, in the process of providing succour and relief to the sick and the suffering, she becomes a sort of foster mother to every one in his or her sufferings and it is the heart of the mother or sister that automatically goes out to the sufferers.

I feel particularly happy to associate myself with this pleasant function of investing a member of the nursing profession with the much coveted award of the International Red Cross—The Florence Nightingale Medal. This medal, as you are aware, was instituted some years ago after the name of that great heroine, so commonly referred to as 'The Lady with the Lamp'.

With all the noble traditions of nursing, one should feel aptly proud when one of its members gets the honour of being the recipient of the highest award available in the profession. I, therefore, take this opportunity of congratulating the members of the nursing profession in general. Before I pin the medal and congratulate the Chief Principal Matron, Miss Dorothy Davis, of the Military Nursing Service of India, the recipient of the Florence Nightingale Medal on her well-deserved recognition, I would like to refer to the citation for the award :—

"Miss Dorothy Davis whilst serving overseas in Malaya in No. 12 Indian General Hospital rendered valuable services from the 2nd of August 1939 to the 25th October 1941. She had always shown untiring zeal and great devotion towards her duty. She rendered remarkable and most admirable service to mankind when she came to the assistance of the injured in a serious railway accident when the Madras-Calcutta Mail collided with a goods train at Ongole on the 4th October 1946 at 2.0 A.M. Immediately, Miss Dorothy Davis left her compartment and worked with untiring devotion and sympathy until every injured person had received attention. There were 80 severely injured bodies and 37 dead bodies. With the inception of the Delhi and East Punjab Command (now

Speech at the presentation of the Florence Nightingale Medal to Miss Davis in Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi on March 8, 1952.

Western Command) which also includes Jammu and Kashmir with effect from 17th December, 1947, Miss Davis was put in charge of Military Nursing Services as Principal Matron which appointment she relinquished on 20th March, 1950, when she was promoted as Chief Principal Matron. During this period she admirably carried out her duties with sincerity, devotion and courage."

Mrs. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

We have assembled here today to do honour to a great and gracious lady, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. She is truly a world figure, for her name is familiar not only to every household in her own country, but in all lands where liberty and human values are prized. For more than twelve years, she was the first lady of the United States as the wife of her late husband, President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The renown of that great man was the reward of his rare and varied gifts, but it owed much to Mrs. Roosevelt's tender care of him. He suffered, as we know, a grievous physical affliction while he was still young and was subject, through the longest tenure by any one individual of the high office of President of the United States, first to the anxieties of a most difficult domestic economic situation and, later, to the stresses and strain of a prolonged and devastating war.

The obligations of family life and of her great social position claimed most of her time and effort while, as the President's wife, she was mistress of the White House. But Mrs. Roosevelt's sympathies, energy and vigorous intelligence were active then, and have been wholly dedicated since her husband's death, to every field of national or international endeavour directed to the service of the common man; the removal of inequality and want, the alleviation and cure of suffering, the extension and strengthening of individual liberty. She has been the constant champion of the causes for which she had fought by the side of her husband, the cause of freedom, the cause of right, the cause of justice to all men and women, whatever their colour or the clime in which they dwell. In honouring her today, this University honours an ardent and steadfast worker for those very ideals which our Republic has inscribed in the forefront of our Constitution and for whose attainment it is the unflinching purpose of our people to strive. In Mrs. Roosevelt, we salute one whose exertions for the moral and material uplift of mankind have become an inspiration and example to enlightened womanhood throughout the world.

Speech on the occasion of the Special Convocation of Delhi University to confer the degree of Doctor of Letters, *Honoris Causa*, on Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, on March 15, 1952.

LINK BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH

It was a very happy idea to organise this exhibition in the Capital of India. While in Hyderabad some months ago, I was told by the then Chief Minister that they wanted to have this exhibition here so that people in the Capital and the large number of visitors coming here may get acquainted not only with historical things of interest but also with some modern manufactures of Hyderabad State.

Hyderabad is in the happy position of being a sort of confluence between the north and the south and as such it has derived inspiration from both sides. Great works of art, some specimens of which you will see here, are the Ajanta paintings and the sculptures of the Ellora caves which are world-famous. A large number of similar things are not as well known as they should be. Some of them are the result of the activities of the Hyderabad Archaeological Department.

Apart from these, you will see a large number of specimens of manuscripts which are of rare value and which have been preserved for centuries, but still look as fresh as if they were written only yesterday, using paper and ink which we have forgotten altogether. Going round the exhibition, you will find a fine collection of coins some of which date back to 1000 B.C. You will also see some specimens of fine handicraft which once flourished but are now languishing due to want of patronage. You will see specimens of *Bidari* and jewellery work and various patterns of beautiful weaving which is an old heritage. This exhibition, therefore, is of great value. The exhibits include ancient works of art as well as modern paintings. If you only go and see them, that will go a great way in encouraging the people of that State.

I do not want to stand between you and the exhibition for long. I only wish we could have more exhibitions from different parts of the country. I would like to have them here not for a fortnight, not even for a month but permanently. There should be some place here in Delhi where exhibits from different parts of the country may be kept so that any visitor who happens to come here may be able to have an idea of the excellent things which are being produced in our country.

Speech at the opening of the Exhibition of Arts, Archaeology and Handicrafts organised by the Hyderabad Government on April 10, 1952 in the Hyderabad Palace, New Delhi.

Many of the handicraftsmen are losing their art because they do not get sufficient patronage. I am sure there are many who would feel impelled to patronise them by purchasing their products only if they go round the exhibition and see the exhibits. I wish all success to the organisers of this exhibition. I am particularly grateful to them for having organised it for the benefit of us who are living in Delhi.



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